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# PAUSANIAS

## DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

IN SIX VOLUMES

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ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ  
ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΗΓΗΣΕΩΣ

ς'

ΗΛΙΑΚΩΝ Β

Ι. Ἐπεται δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς τὰ ἀναθήματα τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἵππων ἀγωνιστῶν μνήμην καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως. τῶν δὲ νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίασιν οὐχ ἀπάντων εἰσὶν ἐστηκότες ἀνδριάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδειξάμενοι λαμπρὰ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλοις ἔργοις, ὅμως οὐ τετυχήκασιν  
2 εἰκόνων· τούτους ἐκέλευσεν ἀφεῖναί με ὁ λόγος, ὅτι οὐ κατάλογός ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν ὅποσους γεγόνασιν Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, ἀναθημάτων δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ εἰκόνων συγγραφή. οὐδὲ ὅπόσων ἐστήκασιν ἀνδριάντες, οὐδὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἐπέξειμι, ἐπιστάμενος ὅσοι τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰσχύος ἀνείλοντο ἤδη τὸν κότινον· ὅποσους δὲ ἢ αὐτοῖς τι εἶχεν ἐς δόξαν ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἄμεινον ἐτέρων πεποιῆσθαι, τοσαῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς μνησθήσομαι.

# PAUSANIAS

## DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

### BOOK VI

#### ELIS II

I AFTER my description of the votive offerings I must now go on to mention the statues of race-horses and those of men, whether athletes or ordinary folk. Not all the Olympic victors have had their statues erected; some, in fact, who have distinguished themselves, either at the games or by other exploits, have had no statue. These I am forced to omit by the nature of my work, which is not a list of athletes who have won Olympic victories, but an account of statues and of votive offerings generally. I shall not even record all those whose statues have been set up, as I know how many have before now won the crown of wild olive not by strength but by the chance of the lot<sup>1</sup>. Those only will be mentioned who themselves gained some distinction, or whose statues happened to be better made than others.

<sup>1</sup> A competitor might be lucky, or unlucky, in the antagonists with whom he was paired for the various heats. He might even draw a bye, and so start fresher than his opponent.

- 3 Ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας ἀνδρὸς εἰκὼν παλαιστοῦ, γένος δὲ ἦν Ἥλεϊος, Σύμμαχος Αἰσχύλου· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῆς Ἀρκάδων Νεολαίδας Προξένου, πυγμαῆς. ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένος νίκη· ἐφεξῆς δὲ Ἀρχέδαμος Ξενίου, καταβαλὼν καὶ οὗτος παλαιστάς παῖδας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς Ἥλεϊος. τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων εἰργάσατο Ἄλυπος τὰς εἰκόνας Σικυώνιος, Ναυ-  
4 κύδους τοῦ Ἀργείου μαθητῆς. Κλεογένην δὲ Σιληνοῦ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησὶν εἶναι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἐκ δὲ ἀγέλης αὐτὸν οἰκείας ἵππων κρατῆσαι κέλητι. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Κλεογένους Δεινολόχος τε κεῖται Πύρρου καὶ Τρωίλος Ἀλκίνου. τούτοις γένος μὲν καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἐξ Ἥλιδος, γεγόνασι δὲ σφισιν οὐ κατὰ ταῦτ' αἱ νῖκαι· ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἑλλανοδικεῖν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας τῷ Τρωίλῳ τελείᾳ τε συνωρίδι καὶ πῶλων ἄρματι—ὄλυμπι-  
5 αῖδι δὲ ἐκράτει δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ νόμος ἐγένετο Ἥλεϊοις μὴδὲ ἵππους τοῦ λοιποῦ τῶν ἑλλανοδικούντων καθιέναι μὴδένα—τούτου μὲν δὴ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Λύσιππος· ἡ δὲ τοῦ Δεινολόχου μήτηρ εἶδεν ὄψιν ὀνείρατος ὡς ἔχοιτο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐν τοῖς κόλποις ἐστεφανω-  
6 μένου, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὁ Δεινολόχος ἡσκήθη καὶ τοὺς παῖδας παρέθει τρέχων. Σικυωνίου δὲ Κλέωνός ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν. ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀρχιδάμου Κυνίσκαν, ἐς τὸ γένος τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς Ὀλυμπικαῖς νίκαις, πρότερον ἔτι ἐδήλωσα ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οἱ ἐς τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἔχουσι· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Τρωίλου

On the right of the temple of Hera is the statue of a wrestler, Symmachus the son of Aeschylus. He was an Elean by birth. Beside him is Neolaïdas, son of Proxenus, from Pheneus in Aicadia, who won a victory in the boys' boxing-match. Next comes Archedamus, son of Xenius, another Elean by birth, who like Symmachus overthrew wrestlers in the contest for boys. The statues of the athletes mentioned above were made by Alypus of Sicyon, pupil of Naucydes of Aigos. The inscription on Cleogenes the son of Silenus declares that he was a native, and that he won a prize with a riding-horse from his own private stable. Hard by Cleogenes are set up Deinolochus, son of Pyrrhus, and Troilus, son of Alcinous. These also were both Eleans by birth, though their victories were not the same. Troilus, at the time that he was umpire, succeeded in winning victories in the chariot-races, one for a chariot drawn by a full-grown pan and another for a chariot drawn by foals. The date of his victories was the 372<sup>d</sup> hundred and second Festival. After this the Eleans passed a law that in future no umpire was to compete in the chariot-races. The statue of Troilus was made by Lysippus. The mother of Deinolochus had a dream, in which she thought that the son she clasped in her bosom had a crown on his head. For this reason Deinolochus was trained to compete in the games and outran the boys. The artist was Cleon of Sicyon. As for Cynisca, daughter of Archidamus, her ancestry and Olympic victories, I have given an account thereof in my history of the Lacedaemonian kings<sup>1</sup>. By the side of the statue of Troilus at Olympia has been made a basement of

<sup>1</sup> See Book III ch. viii

λίθου κρηπίς καὶ ἄρμα τε ἵππων καὶ ἀνὴρ  
 ἡνίοχος καὶ αὐτῆς Κυνίσκας εἰκῶν, Ἀπελλοῦ  
 τέχνη, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα ἐς τὴν  
 7 Κυνίσκαν ἔχοντα. εἰσὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ  
 ἐφεξῆς ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Κυνίσκᾳ, ἵππων νῆκαι  
 γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς. Ἀνάξανδρος μὲν ἄρματι  
 ἀνηγορεύθη πρῶτος, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμά φησι τὸ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀναξάνδρου πρότερον  
 ἔτι στεφανωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα πεντάθλῳ. οὗτος  
 μὲν δὴ ἔοικεν εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, Πολυκλῆς δὲ  
 ἐπὶ κλησιν λαβὼν Πολύχαλκος τεθρίππῳ μὲν  
 καὶ οὗτος ἐκράτησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ  
 ἔχει οἱ τῇ δεξιᾷ ταινίαν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ παιδία  
 δύο τὸ μὲν τροχὸν κατέχει, τὸ δὲ αἰτεῖ τὴν  
 ταινίαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ ὁ Πολυκλῆς ἵπποις, ὥς τὸ  
 ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγει, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ  
 Ἰσθμοῖ τε καὶ Νεμέᾳ

II. Παγκρατιαστοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα  
 εἰργάσατο Λύσιππος· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνείλετο  
 ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ νίκην τῶν ἄλλων τε Ἀκαρνάνων  
 καὶ τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς Στράτου πρῶτος Ξενάρκης τε  
 ἐκαλεῖτο Φιλανδρίδου. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἄρα  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐπιστρατείαν τοῦ Μῆδου διετέθησαν  
 πάντων φιλοτιμότατα Ἑλλήνων πρὸς ἵππων  
 τροφάς. χωρὶς γὰρ ἡ ὅσους αὐτῶν κατέλεξα  
 ἤδη, τοσοῖδε ἄλλοι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἵπποτρόφων  
 μετὰ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνάκεινται τοῦ Ἀκαρνᾶνος  
 ἀθλητοῦ, Ξενάρκης καὶ Λυκῖνος Ἀρκεσίλαός τε  
 2 καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου Λίχας. Ξενάρκει  
 μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ ἐν Ἀργεὶ τε ὑπῆρξε  
 καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ προσανελέσθαι νίκας· Λυκῖνος  
 δὲ ἀγαγὼν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν πῶλους, καὶ οὐ δοκι-



stone, whereon are a chariot and horses, a charioteer, and a statue of Cynisca herself, made by Apelles, there are also inscriptions relating to Cynisca. Next to her also have been erected statues of Lacedaemonians. They gained victories in chariot-races. Anaxander was the first of his family to be proclaimed victor with a chariot, but the inscription on him declares that previously his paternal grandfather received the crown for the pentathlon. Anaxander is represented in an attitude of prayer to the god, while Polycles, who gained the surname of Polychalcus, likewise won a victory with a four-horse chariot, and his statue holds a ribbon in the right hand. Beside him are two children, one holds a wheel and the other is asking for the ribbon. Polycles, as the inscription on him says, also won the chariot-race at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea.

II The statue of a pancratiast was made by Lysippus. The athlete was the first to win the pancratium not only from Stratus itself but from the whole of Acarnania, and his name was Xenarces the son of Philandrides. Now after the Persian invasion the Lacedaemonians became keener breeders of horses than any other Greeks. For beside those I have already mentioned, the following horse-breeders from Sparta have their statues set up after that of the Acarnanian athlete. Xenarces,<sup>1</sup> Lycinus, Arcesilaus, and Lichas his son. Xenarces succeeded in winning other victories, at Delphi, at Argos and at Corinth. Lycinus brought foals to Olympia, and

<sup>1</sup> Xenarces has already appeared in the first sentence of this chapter as the name of the Acarnanian. The repetition of the name within a few lines suggests that in the first sentence the word *Ξενάρκης* has displaced some other name, now lost to us.

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- μασθέντος ἐνὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν, καθήκει ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον τῶν τελείων τοὺς πῶλους καὶ ἐνίκα δι' αὐτῶν, ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἀνδριάντας δύο ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν, Μύρωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ποιήματα. τῷ δὲ Ἀρκεσιλάῳ καὶ Λίχᾳ τῷ παιδί, τᾷ μὲν αὐτῶν γεγόνασι δύο Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι, Λίχας δὲ εἰργομένων τηνικαῦτα τοῦ ἀγῶνος Λακεδαιμονίων καθήκει ἐπὶ ὀνόματι τοῦ Θηβαίων δήμου τὸ ἄρμα, τὸν δὲ ἡνίοχον νικήσαντα ἀνέδησεν αὐτὸς ταινία· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μαστιγοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ
- 3 Ἑλλανοδίκαι, καὶ διὰ τὸν Λίχαν τοῦτον ἢ κατὰ Ἀγιν βασιλέα ἐπιστρατεία Λακεδαιμονίων ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ἡλείους καὶ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτῆος μάχῃ. καταπαυσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα ἐνταῦθα ἔστησε, τὰ δὲ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα οὐ Λίχαν, Θηβαίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἔχει νενικηκότα.
- 4 Τοῦ δὲ Λίχα πλησίον μάντις ἔστηκεν Ἡλείος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν Ἰαμιδῶν, ὃς καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐμαντεύσατο ἐναντία Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀγιδος τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου βασιλέως· ἃ δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐν τᾷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀρκάδας ἐπέξειμι. τοῦ Θρασυβούλου δὲ τῇ εἰκόνι γαλεώτης πρὸς τὸν ὄμον προσέρπων ἐστὶ τὸν δεξιόν, καὶ κύων ἱερεῖον δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ κεῖται διατετμημένος τε
- 5 δίχα καὶ φαίνων τὸ ἦπαρ. μαντικὴ δὲ ἢ μὲν δι' ἐρίφων καὶ ἀρνῶν τε καὶ μόσχων ἐκ παλαιοῦ δήλη καθεστῶσά ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις, Κύπριοι δὲ † ὥς καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπεξευρόντες ἐστι † μαντεύεσθαι,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It has been proposed to add Ἀρκεσίλαος after καὶ

<sup>2</sup> The text is uncertain though the meaning is clear. One MS. has εἰσι (eiasing is) Καὶ ὑσὶν ἐπεξεύρον ὥς ἐστι has been suggested.

when one of them was disqualified, entered his foals for the race for full-grown horses, winning with them. He also dedicated two statues at Olympia, works of Myron<sup>1</sup> the Athenian. As for Arcesilaus and his son Lichas, the father won two Olympic victories, his son, because in his time the Lacedaemonians were excluded from the games, entered his chariot in the name of the Theban people, and with his own hands bound the victorious charioteer with a ribbon. For this offence he was scourged by the umpires, and on account of this Lichas the Lacedaemonians invaded Elis in the reign of King Agis, when a battle took place within the Altis. When the war was over Lichas set up the statue in this place, but the Elean records of Olympic victors give as the name of the victor, not Lichas, but the Theban people.

Near Lichas stands an Elean diviner, Thrasybulus, son of Aeneas of the Iamid family, who divined for the Mantineans in their struggle against the Lacedaemonians under Agis, son of Eudamidas, their king. I shall have more to say about this in my account of the Arcadians<sup>2</sup>. On the statue of Thrasybulus is a spotted lizard crawling towards his right shoulder, and by his side lies a dog, obviously a sacrificial victim, cut open and with his liver exposed. Divination by kids, lambs or calves has, we all know, been established among men from ancient times, and the Cyprians have even discovered how to practise the art by means of pigs, but no peoples are wont to

<sup>1</sup> Myron flourished about 460 B.C., and the race for foals was not introduced till 384 B.C. Hence, either the Greek text must be emended, or some other Myron, and not the earlier sculptor of that name, must be referred to here.

<sup>2</sup> See Book VIII ch. x § 5

κυσὶ δὲ οὐδένες ἐπὶ γε μαντικῆς νομίζουσιν οὐδὲν  
χρῆσθαι· ἔοικεν οὖν ἰδίαν τινὰ ὁ Θρασύβουλος  
ἐπὶ σπλάγχχνων μαντικὴν κυνείων καταστήσασθαι  
οἱ δ' Ἰαμίδαι καλούμενοι μάντις γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ  
Ἰάμου· τὸν δὲ εἶναι παῖδα Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ  
λαβεῖν μαντικὴν φησιν ἐν ἄσματι Πίνδαρος

- 6 Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Θρασυβούλου τὴν εἰκόνα Τιμοσ-  
θένης τε Ἡλείος ἔστηκε σταδίου νίκη ἐν παισὶν  
εἰληφώς καὶ Μιλήσιος Ἀντίπατρος Κλεινο-  
πάτρου παῖδας κατειργασμένος πύκτας. Συρα-  
κοσίων δὲ ἄνδρες, ἄγοντες ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν παρὰ  
Διονυσίου θυσίαν, τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου  
χρήμασιν ἀναπείθουσιν ἀναγορευθῆναί οἱ τὸν  
παῖδα ἐκ Συρακουσῶν· Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ  
τοῦ τυράννου τὰ δῶρα ἡγούμενος ἀνείπεν αὐτὸν  
Μιλήσιον καὶ ἀνέγραψε τῇ εἰκόνι ὥς γένος τε  
εἶη Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἰώνων ἀναθείη πρῶτος ἐς  
7 Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα τούτου μὲν δὴ Πολύκλειτος  
τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο, τὸν δὲ Τιμοσθένην  
Εὐτυχίδης Σικυώνιος παρὰ Λυσίππῳ δεδιδαγ-  
μένος· ὁ δὲ Εὐτυχίδης οὗτος καὶ Σύροις τοῖς ἐπὶ  
Ὀρόντῃ Τύχῃς ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα, μεγάλας παρὰ  
τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔχον τιμὰς

- 8 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀλτει παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Τιμοσθένους  
ἀνδριάντα ἀνάκειται Τίμων καὶ ὁ παῖς τοῦ  
Τίμωνος Αἴσυπος, παιδίον ἐπὶ ἵππῳ καθήμενον·  
ἔστι γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἡ νίκη τῷ παιδὶ ἵππου κέλητος,  
ὁ Τίμων δὲ ἐπὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγορεύθη. τῷ δὲ  
Τίμωνι εἰργάσατο καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τὰς εἰκόνας  
Δαίδαλος Σικυώνιος, ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ  
νικῇ τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἀλτει τρόπαιον ἐποίησεν Ἡλείοις·  
9 ἐπίγραμμα δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Σαμίῳ πύκτῃ τὸν ἀνα-

make any use of dogs in divining. So Thrasybulus apparently established a method of divination peculiar to himself, by means of the entrails of dogs. The diviners called Iamidæ are descended from Iamus, who, Pindar says in an ode,<sup>1</sup> was a son of Apollo and received the gift of divination from him.

By the statue of Thrasybulus stands Timosthenes of Elis, winner of the foot-race for boys, and Antipater of Miletus, son of Cleinopater, conqueror of the boy boxers. Men of Syracuse, who were bringing a sacrifice from Dionysius to Olympia, tried to bribe the father of Antipater to have his son proclaimed as a Syracusan. But Antipater, thinking naught of the tyrant's gifts, proclaimed himself a Milesian and wrote upon his statue that he was of Milesian descent and the first Ionian to dedicate his statue at Olympia. The artist who made this statue was Polycleitus, while that of Timosthenes was made by Eutychides of Sicyon, a pupil of Lysippus. This Eutychides made for the Syrians on the Orontes an image of Fortune, which is highly valued by the natives.

In the Altis by the side of Timosthenes are statues of Timon and of his son Aesypus, who is represented as a child seated on a horse. In fact the boy won the horse-race, while Timon was proclaimed victor in the chariot-race. The statues of Timon and of his son were made by Daedalus of Sicyon, who also made for the Eleans the trophy in the Altis commemorating the victory over the Spartans. The inscription on the Samian boxer says

<sup>1</sup> Pindar, *Olympians*, vi 43 foll.

- θέντα μὲν ὅτι ὁ παιδοτρίβης εἶη Μύκων καὶ ὅτι Σάμιοι τὰ ἐς ἀθλητὰς καὶ ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαις εἰσὶν Ἰώνων ἄριστοι, τάδε μὲν λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, 10 ἐς δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν πύκτην ἐσήμενεν οὐδέν. παρὰ δὲ Μεσσήνιος Δαμίσκος, ὃς δύο γεγωνὼς ἔτη καὶ δέκα ἐνίκησεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. θαῦμα δὲ εἶπερ ἄλλο τι καὶ τόδε ἐποίησάμην· Μεσσηνίους γὰρ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου φεύγοντας ἐπέλιπεν ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Λεοντίσκος καὶ Σύμμαχος τῶν ἐπὶ πορθμῷ Μεσσηνίων, ἄλλος γε οὐδεὶς Μεσσήνιος οὔτε Σικελιώτης οὔτ' ἐκ Ναυπάκτου δῆλός ἐστιν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνηρημένος νίκη· εἶναι δὲ οἱ Σικελιώται καὶ τούτους τῶν ἀρχαίων Ζαγκλαίων καὶ οὐ Μεσσηνίους 11 φασὶ συγκατῆλθε μέντοι Μεσσηνίοις ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τύχη τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν· ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ὕστερον τοῦ οἰκισμοῦ τοῦ Μεσσήνης ἀγόντων Ὀλύμπια Ἡλείων ἐνίκα στάδιον παῖδας ὁ Δαμίσκος οὗτος, καὶ οἱ καὶ πενταθλήσαντι ὕστερον ἐγείνουντο ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε νῖκαι καὶ Ἰσθμοῖ.

III. Δαμίσκου δὲ ἐγγύτατα ἔστηκεν ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ, τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα οὐ λέγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀνάθημά ἐστι τοῦ Λάγου· Μακεδόνα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγράμματι ἐκάλεσε, βασιλεύων ὅμως Αἰγύπτου. Χαιρέα δὲ Σικυννίῳ πύκτη παιδὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ὥς νικήσειεν ἡλικίαν νέος καὶ ὥς πατὴρ ἐῖη Χαιρήμονος, γέγραπται δὲ καὶ ὁ τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργασμένος Ἀστερίων Αἰσχύλου. 2 μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χαιρέαν Μεσσήνιος τε παῖς Σόφιος καὶ ἀνὴρ Ἡλείος ἀνάκειται Στόμιος, καὶ τῷ

that his trainer Mycon dedicated the statue and that the Samians are best among the Ionians for athletes and at naval warfare, this is what the inscription says, but it tells us nothing at all about the boxer himself. Beside this is the Messenian Damiscus, who won an Olympic victory at the age of twelve. I was exceedingly surprised to learn that while the Messenians were in exile from the Peloponnesus, then luck at the Olympic games failed. For with the exception of Leontiscus and Symmachus, who came from Messene on the Strait, we know of no Messenian, either from Sicily or from Naupactus, who won a victory at Olympia. Even these two are said by the Sicilians to have been not Messenians but of old Zanclean blood. However, when the Messenians came back to the Peloponnesus their luck in the Olympic games came with them. For at the festival celebrated by the Eleans in the year after the settlement of Messene, the foot-race for boys was won by this Damiscus, who afterwards won in the pentathlon both at Nemea and at the Isthmus.

III. Nearest to Damiscus stands a statue of somebody, they do not give his name, but it was Ptolemy son of Lagus who set up the offering. In the inscription Ptolemy calls himself a Macedonian, though he was king of Egypt. On Chaereas of Sicyon, a boy boxer, is an inscription that he won a victory when a young man, and that his father was Chaeremon; the name of the artist who made the statue is also written, Asterion son of Aeschylus. After Chaereas are statues of a Messenian boy Sophius and of Stomius, a man of Elis. Sophius outlan his boy competitors,

# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- μὲν τοὺς συνθέοντας τῶν παίδων παρελθεῖν, Στομίῳ δὲ πενταθλοῦντι ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ καὶ Νεμείῳ τρεῖς ὑπῆρξεν ἀνελέσθαι νίκας. τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγει, τῆς ἵππου τε Ἡλείοις αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἀναστήσαι τρόπαια καὶ ἄνδρα τοῖς πολεμίοις στρατηγοῦντα ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στομίου, μονομαχήσαντά οἱ
- 3 κατὰ πρόκλησιν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Σικυῶνος οἱ Ἡεῖοι φασὶ καὶ ἄρχειν Σικυωνίων, στρατεῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοὶ φιλία Θηβαίων ὁμοῦ τῇ ἐκ Βοιωτίας δυνάμει. φαίνοίτο ἂν οὖν ἢ ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα Ἡεῖων καὶ Θηβαίων στρατεία γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις.
- 4 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀνάκειται μὲν πύκτης ἐκ Λεπρέου τοῦ Ἡεῖων, Λάβαξ Εὐφρονος, ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡλιδος παλαιστῆς ἀνὴρ Ἀριστόδημος Θράσιδος· γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοῖ δύο νῖκαι, ἡ δὲ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τέχνη Δαιδάλου τοῦ Σικυωνίου, μαθητοῦ καὶ
- 5 παιδὸς<sup>1</sup> Πατροκλέους. Ἴππον δὲ Ἡεῖον πυγμαῖ παῖδας κρατήσαντα ἐποίησε Δαμόκριτος Σικυώνιος, ὃς ἐς πέμπτον διδάσκαλον ἀνῆλθε τὸν Ἀττικὸν Κριτίαν· Πτόλιχος μὲν γὰρ ἔμαθεν ὁ Κορκυραῖος παρ' αὐτῷ Κριτία, Πτολίχου δὲ ἦν μαθητὴς Ἀμφίων, Πίσων δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐκ Καλαυρείας ἐδιδάχθη παρ' Ἀμφίονι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ
- 6 Πίσωνι Δαμόκριτος. Κρατῖνος δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς Ἀχαιῶν τότε ἐγένετο κάλλιστος τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ σὺν τέχνῃ μάλιστα ἐπάλαισε, καταπαλαίσαντι δὲ αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας προσαναστήσαι καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην ὑπὸ Ἡεῖων ἐδόθη· τὸν



and Stomius won a victory in the pentathlon at Olympia and three at the Nemean games. The inscription on his statue adds that, when commander of the Elean cavalry, he set up trophies and killed in single combat the general of the enemy, who had challenged him. The Eleans say that the dead general was a native of Sicyon in command of Sicyonian troops, and that they themselves with the force from Boeotia attacked Sicyon out of friendship to the Thebans. So the attack of the Eleans and Thebans against Sicyon apparently took place after the Lacedaemonian disaster at Leuctia.

Next stands the statue of a boxer from Lepreus in Elis, whose name was Labax son of Euphion, and also that of Aristodemus, son of Thrasis, a boxer from Elis itself, who also won two victories at Pytho. The statue of Aristodemus is the work of Daedalus of Sicyon, the pupil and son of Patrocles. The statue of Hippius of Elis, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by Damocritus of Sicyon, of the school of Attic Critias, being removed from him by four generations of teachers. For Critias himself taught Ptolichus of Coicyra, Amphion was the pupil of Ptolichus, and taught Pison of Calauria, who was the teacher of Damocritus. Cratinus of Aegira in Achaia was the most handsome man of his time and the most skilful wrestler, and when he won the wrestling-match for boys the Eleans allowed him to set up a statue of his trainer as well. The

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS have πατρός, which is evidently a repetition of the first two syllables of the next word

δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε Σικυώνιος Κάνθαρος,  
'Αλέξιδος μὲν πατρός, διδασκάλου δὲ ὦν  
Εὐτυχίδου.

7 Εὐπολέμου δὲ Ἡλείου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα Σικυ-  
ώνιος εἵργασται Δαίδαλος· τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ  
ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνηύει σταδίου μὲν ἀνδρῶν· Ὀλυμπίασι  
νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τὸν Εὐπόλεμον, εἶναι δὲ καὶ  
δύο Πυθικοὺς αὐτῷ πεντάθλου στεφάνους καὶ  
ἄλλον Νεμείων. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐπολέμῳ  
καὶ τάδε, ὡς ἐφεστήκοιεν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ  
[τῷ πέρατι] Ἑλλανοδίκαι, νικᾶν δὲ τῷ μὲν  
Εὐπολέμῳ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν δοῖεν, ὁ τρίτος δὲ  
'Αμβρακιώτῃ Λέοντι, καὶ ὡς χρημάτων κατα-  
δικάσαιτο ὁ Λέων ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς βουλῆς  
ἐκατέρου τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν οἱ νικᾶν τὸν Εὐπό-  
λεμον ἔγνωσαν.

8 Οἰβώτα δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνδριάντα Ἀχαιοὶ κατὰ  
πρόσταγμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος  
ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος ὀγδοηκοστῆς· ἡ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου  
νίκη τῷ Οἰβώτῃ γέγονεν Ὀλυμπιάδι ἕκτῃ. πῶς  
ἂν οὖν τὴν γε ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην μεμαχημένος  
ὁ Οἰβώτας εἶη μετὰ Ἑλλήνων; πέμπτη γὰρ  
ἐπὶ τῇ ἐβδομηκοστῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὸ πταῖσμα  
ἐγένετο τὸ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Μαρδονίῳ καὶ Μήδοις.  
ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγό-  
μενα ἀνάγκη, πείθεσθαι δὲ πᾶσιν οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη.  
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅποια τὰ συμβάντα ἦν ἐς τὸν  
Οἰβώταν, τῇ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς προσέσται μοι  
συγγραφή.

9 Ἀντιόχου δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἐποίησε μὲν Νικό-  
δαμος, γένος δὲ ὁ Ἀντιόχος ἦν ἐκ Λεπρέου·  
παγκρατίῳ δὲ ἄνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὲν ἐκρά-

statue was made by Cantharus of Sicyon, whose father was Alexis, while his teacher was Eutychides.

The statue of Eupolemus of Elis was made by Daedalus of Sicyon. The inscription on it informs us that Eupolemus won the foot-race for men at Olympia, and that he also received two Pythian crowns for the pentathlon and another at the Nemean games. It is also said of Eupolemus that three umpires stood on the course, of whom two gave their verdict in favour of Eupolemus and one declared the winner to be Leon the Ambraciot. Leon, they say, got the Olympic Council to fine each of the umpires who had decided in favour of Eupolemus.

The statue of Oebotas was set up by the Achaeans by the command of the Delphic Apollo in the eightieth Olympiad, but Oebotas won his victory in the foot-race at the sixth Festival. How, therefore, could Oebotas have taken part in the Greek victory at Plataea? For it was in the seventy-fifth Olympiad that the Persians under Mardonius suffered their disaster at Plataea. Now I am obliged to report the statements made by the Greeks, though I am not obliged to believe them all. The other incidents in the life of Oebotas I will add to my history of Achaia.<sup>1</sup>

The statue of Antiochus was made by Nicodamus. A native of Leprieus, Antiochus won once at Olympia the pancratium for men, and the pentathlon twice

<sup>1</sup> See Book VII. ch. xvii § 6

τησεν ἅπαξ, ἐν Ἴσθμῳ δὲ καὶ Νεμέᾳ δις  
 πεντάθλῳ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι. οὐ γάρ τι  
 Ἴσθμίων Λεπρεάταις δεῖμα ὥσπερ γε αὐτοῖς  
 ἐστὶν Ἡλείοις, ἐπεὶ Ὑσμῶνι γε τῷ Ἡλείῳ—  
 πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ὑσμῶν οὗτος  
 ἔστηκε—τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀθλήσαντι πένταθλον  
 ἢ τε Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ Νεμείων γέγονεν ἢ  
 ἑτέρα, Ἴσθμίων δὲ δῆλα ὥς καὶ οὗτος κατὰ  
 10 ταῦτὰ Ἡλείοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἵργετο. λέγεται  
 δὲ παιδὶ ἔτι ὄντι τῷ Ὑσμῶνι κατασκήψαι  
 ῥεῦμα ἐς τὰ νεῦρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μελε-  
 τῆσαι πένταθλον, ἵνα δὴ ἐκ τῶν πόνων ὑγιῆς  
 τε καὶ ἄνοσος ἀνὴρ εἴη· τῷ δὲ ἄρα τὸ μάθημα  
 καὶ νίκας ἔμελλεν ἐπιφανεῖς οὕτω παρασκευά-  
 σειν. ὁ δὲ ἀνδριὰς αὐτῷ Κλέωνος μὲν ἐστὶν  
 11 ἔργον, ἔχει δὲ ἀλτῆρας ἀρχαίους. μετὰ δὲ  
 Ὑσμῶνα παλαιστῆς παῖς ἐξ Ἡραίας ἀνάκειται  
 τῆς Ἀρκάδων, Νικόστρατος Ξενοκλείδου· Παν-  
 τίας δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν, ὃς ἀπὸ  
 Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Σικυωνίου καταριθμουμένῳ  
 τοὺς διδαχθέντας ἑβδομος ἀπὸ τούτου ἦν<sup>1</sup>  
 μαθητής.

Δίκων δὲ ὁ Καλλιβρότου πέντε μὲν Πυθοῖ  
 δρόμου νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνείλετο Ἴσθμίων, τέσ-  
 σαρας δὲ ἐν Νεμέᾳ, καὶ Ὀλυμπικὰς μίαν μὲν  
 ἐν παισί, δύο δὲ ἄλλας ἀνδρῶν· καὶ οἱ καὶ  
 ἀνδριάντες ἴσοι ταῖς νίκαις εἰσὶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.  
 παιδὶ μὲν δὴ ὄντι αὐτῷ Καυλωνιάτῃ, καθάπερ  
 γε καὶ ἦν, ὑπῆρξεν ἀναγορευθῆναι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ  
 τούτου Συρακούσιον αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσεν ἐπὶ  
 12 χρήμασι. Καυλωνία δὲ ἀπφκίσθη μὲν ἐς  
 Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν, οἰκιστὴς δὲ ἐγένετο

at the Isthmian games and twice at the Nemean. For the Lepreans are not afraid of the Isthmian games as the Eleans themselves are. For example, Hysmon of Elis, whose statue stands near that of Antiochus, competed successfully in the pentathlon both at Olympia and at Nemea, but clearly kept away, just like other Eleans, from the Isthmian games. It is said that when Hysmon was still a boy he was attacked by a flux in his muscles, and it was in order that by hard exercise he might be a healthy man free from disease that he practised the pentathlon. So his training was also to make him win famous victories in the games. His statue is the work of Cleon, and he holds jumping-weights of old pattern. After Hysmon comes the statue of a boy wrestler from Heraea in Arcadia, Nicostratus the son of Xenocleides. Pantias was the artist, and if you count the teachers you will find five between him and Aristocles of Sicyon.

Dicön, the son of Callibrotus, won five foot-races at Pytho, three at the Isthmian games, four at Nemea, one at Olympia in the race for boys besides two in the men's race. Statues of him have been set up at Olympia equal in number to the races he won. When he was a boy he was proclaimed a native of Caulonia, as in fact he was. But afterwards he was bribed to proclaim himself a Syracusan. Caulonia was a colony in Italy founded by Achaeans,

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<sup>1</sup>  $\eta\nu$  is not in the MSS. but was added by Frazer.

αὐτῆς Τύφων Αἰγιεύς· Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Αἰακίδου καὶ Ταραντίνων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον καταστάντων ἄλλαι τε τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐγένοντο αἱ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν ἀνάστατοι, κατέλαβε δὲ ἐς ἅπαν ἐρημωθῆναι καὶ τὴν Καυλωνίαν ἀλούσαν ὑπὸ Καμπανῶν, οἱ Ῥωμαίοις μεγίστη τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν.

- 13 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Δίκωνι ἀνάκειται μὲν Ξενοφῶν Μενεφύλου παγκρατιαστῆς ἀνὴρ ἐξ Αἰγίου τῆς Ἀχαιῶν, ἀνάκειται δὲ Πυριλάμπης Ἐφέσιος λαβὼν δολίχου νίκην. τοῦ μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησεν Ὀλυμπος, Πυριλάμπει δὲ ὁμώνυμος καὶ ὁ πλάστης, γένος δὲ οὐ Σικυώνιος, ἀλλὰ ἐκ Μεσσηνίας τῆς ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰθώμῃ.

- 14 Λύσανδρον δὲ τὸν Ἀριστοκρίτου Σπαρτιάτην ἀνέθεσαν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σάμιοι, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων ἐστὶν

ἐν πολυθαήτῳ τεμένει Διὸς ὑψιμέδοντος  
ἔστηκ' ἀνθέντων δημοσίᾳ Σαμίων·

τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοὺς τὸ ἀνάθημα ἀναθέντας μηνύει, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπαινός ἐστι Λύσανδρον.

ἀθάνατον πάτρα καὶ Ἀριστοκρίτῳ κλέος  
ἔργων,  
Λύσανδρ', ἐκτελέσας δόξαν ἔχεις ἀρετᾶς

- 15 δῆλοι οὖν εἰσιν οἳ τε Σάμιοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, κατὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἰώνων, τοὺς τοίχους τοὺς δύο ἐπαλείφοντες. Ἀλκιβιάδου μὲν γε τριήρεσιν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ἰωνίαν ἰσχύοντος

and its founder was Typhon of Aegium. When Pyrrhus son of \*Aeacides and the Tarentines were at war with the Romans, several cities in Italy were destroyed, either by the Romans or by the Epeirots, and these included Caulonia, whose fate it was to be utterly laid waste, having been taken by the Campanians, who formed the largest contingent of allies on the Roman side

Close to Dicon is a statue of Xenophon, the son of Menephylus, a panciatiast of Aegium in Achaia, and likewise one of Pyrilampes of Ephesus after winning the long foot-race Olympus made the statue of Xenophon, that of Pyrilampes was made by a sculptor of the same name, a native, not of Sicily, but of Messene beneath Ithome.

A statue of Lysander, son of Aristocritus, a Spartan, was dedicated in Olympia by the Samians, and the first of their inscriptions runs —

In the much-seen precinct of Zeus, ruler on  
high,  
I stand, dedicated at public expense by the  
Samians

So this inscription informs us who dedicated the statue, the next is in praise of Lysander himself —

Deathless glory by thy achievements, for father-  
land and for Aristocritus,  
Lysander, hast thou won, and art famed for  
valour

So plainly "the Samians and the rest of the Ionians," as the Ionians themselves phrase it, painted both the walls For when Alcibiades had a strong fleet of Athenian triremes along the coast of Ionia, most

ἐθεράπευον αὐτὸν Ἰώνων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ εἰκὼν  
 Ἀλκιβιάδου χαλκῇ παρὰ τῇ Ἑρᾷ<sup>1</sup> Σαμίων  
 ἐστὶν ἀνάθημα· ὥς δὲ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς  
 ἐάλωσαν αἱ ναῦς αἱ Ἀττικάι, Σάμιοι μὲν ἐς  
 Ὀλυμπίαν τὸν Λύσανδρον, Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 ἱερὸν ἀνετίθεσαν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος Λύσανδρόν τε  
 αὐτὸν καὶ Ἑτεόνικον καὶ Φάρακα καὶ ἄλλους  
 Σπαρτιατῶν ἥκιστα ἔς γε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν γνωρί-  
 16 μους μεταπεσόντων δὲ αὖθις τῶν πραγμάτων  
 καὶ Κόνωνος κεκρατηκότος τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ περὶ  
 Κνίδου καὶ ὅρος τὸ Δώριον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὕτω  
 μετεβάλλοντο οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ Κόνωνα ἀνακεί-  
 μενον χαλκοῦν καὶ Τιμόθεον ἐν Σάμῳ τε ἔστιν  
 ἰδεῖν παρὰ τῇ Ἑρᾷ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Ἐφέσῳ  
 παρὰ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ. ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἔχοντα  
 οὕτω τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον, καὶ Ἴωσιν ὡσαύτως οἱ  
 πάντες ἄνθρωποι θεραπεύουσι τὰ ὑπερέχοντα  
 τῇ ἰσχύϊ.

IV. Ἐχεται δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου τῆς εἰκόνης  
 Ἐφεσίως τε πύκτης τοὺς ἐλθόντας κρατήσας  
 τῶν παίδων—ὄνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἀθήναιος—καὶ  
 Σικυνῶνιος Σώστρατος παγκρατιαστής ἀνὴρ,  
 ἐπὶ κλησίς δὲ ἦν Ἀκροχερσίτης αὐτῷ· παρα-  
 λαμβανόμενος γὰρ ἄκρων τοῦ ἀνταγωνιζομένου  
 τῶν χειρῶν ἕκλα, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀνίει πρὶν  
 2 ἢ αἰσθοῖτο ἀπαγορεύσαντος. γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῷ  
 Νεμείων μὲν νῆκαι καὶ Ἰσθμίων ἀναμῖξ δυόδεκα,  
 Ὀλυμπιάσι δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ, τῇ μὲν δύο, τρεῖς  
 δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν—πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ  
 Σώστρατος ταύτην—οὐκ ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡεῖοι,

<sup>1</sup> Before Σαμίων the MSS. have τῇ.



of the Ionians paid court to him, and there is a bronze statue of Alcibiades dedicated by the Samians in the temple of Hera. But when the Attic ships were captured at Aegospotami, the Samians set up a statue of Lysander at Olympia, and the Ephesians set up in the sanctuary of Artemis not only a statue of Lysander himself but also statues of Eteonicus, Pharax and other Spartans quite unknown to the Greek world generally. But when fortune changed again, and Conon had won the naval action off Cnidus and the mountain called Dorium, the Ionians likewise changed their views, and there are to be seen statues in bronze of Conon and of Timotheus both in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos and also in the sanctuary of the Ephesian goddess at Ephesus. It is always the same, the Ionians merely follow the example of all the world in paying court to strength. 405 B C  
394 B C

IV Next to the statue of Lysander is an Ephesian boxer who beat the other boys, his competitors—his name was Athenaeus,—and also a man of Sicyon who was a pancratiast, Sostratus surnamed Acrochersites. For he used to grip his antagonist by the fingers<sup>1</sup> and bend them, and would not let go until he saw that his opponent had given in. He won at the Nemean and Isthmian games combined twelve victories, three victories at Olympia and two at Pytho. The hundred and fourth Festival, when Sostratus won his first victory, is not reckoned by the Eleans, because the

<sup>1</sup> In Greek *αἱ ἄκραι χεῖρες*. Hence Acrochersites, “the fingerer.”

- διότι μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ  
 3 Ἀρκάδες ἔθεσαν ἅντ' αὐτῶν. πᾶρὰ δὲ τὸν Σώσ-  
 τρατον παλαιστῆς ἀνὴρ πεποίηται Λεοντίσκος, ἐκ  
 Σικελίας τε ὦν γένος καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ  
 Μεσσήνης· στεφανωθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τε Ἀμφικτυό-  
 νων καὶ δις ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ λέγεται  
 τὴν πάλην καθὰ δὴ καὶ τὸ παγκράτιον τῷ  
 Σικυωνίῳ Σωστράτῳ καὶ γὰρ τὸν Λεοντίσκον  
 καταβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι τοὺς παλαι-  
 οντας, νικᾶν δὲ αὐτὸν κλῶντα τοὺς δακτύλους.  
 4 τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα Πυθαγόρας ἐποίησεν ὁ Ῥηγίνος,  
 εἴπερ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀγαθὸς τὰ ἐς πλαστικὴν.  
 διδασκῆναι δὲ παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ φασὶν αὐτόν,  
 Ῥηγίνῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ, μαθητῇ δὲ Εὐχείρου·  
 τὸν δὲ Εὐχείρου εἶναι Κορίνθιον, φοιτῆσαι δὲ  
 ὡς Συάδραν τε καὶ Χάρταν Σπαρτιάτας.  
 5 Ὁ δὲ παῖς ὁ ἀναδούμενος ταιρία τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 ἐπεισήχθω μοι καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν λόγον Φειδίου  
 τε ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐς τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Φειδίου  
 σοφίας, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅτου τὴν  
 εἰκόνα ὁ Φειδίας ἐποίησε. Σάτυρος δὲ Ἡλείος  
 Λυσιάνακτος πατρός, γένους δὲ τοῦ Ἰαμιδῶν,  
 ἐν Νεμέᾳ πεντάκις ἐνίκησε πυκτεύων καὶ Πυθοῖ  
 τε δις καὶ δις ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ· τέχνη δὲ Ἀθηναίου  
 Σιλανίωνος ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστι. πλάστης δὲ ἄλλος  
 τῶν Ἀττικῶν Πολυκλῆς, Σταδιέως μαθητῆς  
 Ἀθηναίου, πεποίηκε παῖδα Ἐφέσιον παγκρα-  
 τιαστήν, Ἀμύνταν Ἑλλανίκου.  
 6 Χίλωνι δὲ Ἀχαιῷ Πατρεῖ δύο μὲν Ὀλυμπικαὶ  
 νῖκαι πάλης ἀνδρῶν, μία δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Δελφοῖς,  
 τέσσαρες δὲ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ καὶ Νεμείων τρεῖς· ἐτάφη  
 δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ οἱ καὶ τοῦ

games were held by the Pisans and Arcadians and not by themselves. Beside Sostratus is a statue of Leontiscus, a man wrestler, a native of Sicily from Messene on the Strait. He was crowned, they say, by the Amphictyons and twice by the Eleans, and his mode of wrestling was similar to the pancratium of Sostratus the Sicyonian. For they say that Leontiscus did not know how to throw his opponents, but won by bending their fingers. The statue was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium, an excellent sculptor if ever there was one. They say that he studied under Clearchus, who was likewise a native of Rhegium, and a pupil of Eucheirus. Eucheirus, it is said, was a Corinthian, and attended the school of Syadras and Chartas, men of Sparta.

The boy who is binding his head with a fillet must be mentioned in my account because of Pheidias and his great skill as a sculptor, but we do not know whose portrait the statue is that Pheidias made Satyrus of Elis, son of Lysianax, of the clan of the Iamidae, won five victories at Nemea for boxing, two at Pytho, and two at Olympia. The artist who made the statue was Silanion, an Athenian. Polycles, another sculptor of the Attic school, a pupil of Stadiasus the Athenian, has made the statue of an Ephesian boy pancratiast, Amyntas the son of Hellanicus.

Chilon, an Achaean of Patrae, won two prizes for men wrestlers at Olympia, one at Delphi, four at the Isthmus and three at the Nemean games. He was buried at the public expense by the Achaeans,

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βίου συνέπεσεν ἐν<sup>1</sup> πολέμῳ τὴν τελευτὴν γε-  
νέσθαι. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ  
ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ·

μουνοπάλης νικῶ δις Ὀλύμπια Πύθιά τ'  
ἄνδρας,  
τρὶς Νεμέα, τετράκις δ' Ἰσθμῷ ἐν ἀγχιάλῳ,  
Χίλων<sup>2</sup> Χίλωνος Πατρεὺς, ὃν λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν  
ἐν πολέμῳ φθίμενον θάψ' ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.

7 τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐδήλωσεν·  
εἰ δὲ Λυσίππου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὴν εἰκόνα  
τεκμαιρόμενον τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συμβαλέσθαι δεῖ με  
τὸν πόλεμον ἔνθα ὁ Χίλων ἔπεσεν, ἥτοι ἐς  
Χαιρώνειαν Ἀχαιοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ στρα-  
τεύσασθαι ἢ ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ τόλμαν  
Ἀχαιῶν μόνος Ἀντιπάτρου μοι καὶ Μακεδόνων  
ἐναντία ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ Λαμίαν φαίνεται τὴν  
ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ.

8 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τοῦ Χίλωνος δύο ἀνάκεινται· τῷ  
μὲν Μολπίων ἐστὶν ὄνομα, στεφανωθῆναι δὲ τὸ  
ἐπίγραμμά φησιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων· τὸν δὲ  
ἕτερον, ὅτῳ μηδὲν ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα, μνημονεύ-  
ουσιν ὥς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ τῶν Θρακίων  
Σταγείρων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἥτοι μαθητῆς ἢ καὶ στρα-  
τιωτικὸς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνὴρ ἅτε παρὰ Ἀντιπάτρῳ  
καὶ πρότερον ἰσχύσαντα παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ.  
Σωδάμας δὲ ἐξ Ἀσσοῦ τῆς ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι,  
9 κειμένης δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ Ἰδῇ, πρῶτος Αἰολέων τῶν  
ταύτῃ στάδιον Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐνίκησεν ἐν παισίν

<sup>1</sup> ἐν is not in the MSS

<sup>2</sup> The MSS have χίλων ὃς πατρεὺς ὦν λαὸς The text is  
Porson's

## ELIS II, iv. 6-9

and his fate it was to lose his life on the field of battle. My statement is borne out by the inscription at Olympia —

In wrestling only I alone conquered twice the  
men\* at Olympia and at Pytho,  
Thrice at Nemea, and four times at the Isthmus  
near the sea;  
Chilon of Patrae, son of Chilon, whom the  
Achaean folk  
Buried for my valour when I died in battle.

Thus much is plain from the inscription. But the date of Lysippus, who made the statue, leads me to infer about the war in which Chilon fell, that plainly either he marched to Chaeironeia with the whole of the Achaeans, or else his personal courage and daring <sup>338</sup> led him alone of the Achaeans to fight against the Macedonians under Antipater at the battle of Lamia <sup>323</sup> in Thessaly

Next to Chilon two statues have been set up. One is that of a man named Molpion, who, says the inscription, was crowned by the Eleans. The other statue bears no inscription, but tradition says that it represents Aristotle from Stageira in Thrace, and that it was set up either by a pupil or else by some soldier aware of Aristotle's influence with Antipater and at an earlier date with Alexander Sodamas from Assos in the Troad, a city at the foot of Ida, was the first of the Aeolians in this district to win at Olympia the foot-race for boys. By the

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παρὰ δὲ Σωδάμαν Ἀρχίδαμος ἔστηκεν ὁ Ἀγη-  
 σιλάου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀρχιδάμου τούτου βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὐδενὸς  
 ἔν γε τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναθέντας  
 εὕρισκον Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ ἄλλων τε καὶ τῆς  
 τελευτῆς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔνεκα ἀνδριάντα ἐς Ὀλυμ-  
 πίαν ἀπέστειλαν, ὅτι ἐν βαρβάρῳ τε ἐπέλαβεν  
 αὐτὸν τὸ χρεὼν καὶ βασιλέων μόνος τῶν ἐν  
 0 Σπάρτῃ δῆλός ἐστιν ἀμαρτῶν τάφου. ταῦτα  
 μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτιατικοῖς λόγοις ἐς  
 πλεόν ἡμῖν δεδήλωται. Εὐάνθει δὲ Κυζικηνῶ  
 γεγόιασι πυγμῆς νῖκαι, μία μὲν ἐν ἀνδράσιν  
 Ὀλυμπική, Νεμείων δὲ ἐν παισὶ καὶ Ἰσθμίων  
 πεποίηται δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐάνθην ἀνὴρ τε ἵππο-  
 τρόφος καὶ τὸ ἄρμα, ἀναβεβηκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ἄρμα παῖς παρθένος· ὄνομα μὲν Λάμπρος τῷ  
 ἀνδρί, πατρὶς δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ νεωτάτῃ τῶν ἐν  
 Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων, καλουμένη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 11 οἰκιστοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου Κυνίσκῳ  
 δὲ τῷ ἐκ Μαντινείας πύκτῃ παιδὶ ἐποίησε  
 Πολύκλειτος τὴν εἰκόνα. Ἐργοτέλης δὲ ὁ  
 Φιλάνορος δολίχου δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας,  
 τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τε  
 καὶ Νεμείων ἀνηρημένος, οὐχ Ἱμεραῖος εἶναι τὸ  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καθάπερ γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ φησι, Κρῆς δὲ εἶναι λέγεται Κνωσσιος·  
 ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ὑπὸ στασιωτῶν ἐκ Κνωσσοῦ καὶ  
 ἐς Ἱμέραν ἀφικόμενος πολιτείας τ' ἔτυχε καὶ  
 πολλὰ εὔρετο ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν. ἔμελλεν οὖν ὥς  
 τὸ εἶκος Ἱμεραῖος ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἀναγορευθή-  
 σεσθαι.

V Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τῷ ὑψηλῷ Λυσίππου  
 28

side of Sodamas stands Archidamus, son of Agesilaus, king of the Lacedaemonians. Before this Archidamus no king, so far as I could learn, had his statue set up by the Lacedaemonians, at least outside the boundaries of the country. They sent the statue of Archidamus to Olympia chiefly, in my opinion, on account of his death, because he met his end in a foreign land, and is the only king in Sparta who is known to have missed burial. I have spoken at greater length on this matter in my account of Sparta<sup>1</sup>. Euanthes of Cyzicus won prizes for boxing, one among the men at Olympia, and also among the boys at the Nemean and at the Isthmian games. By the side of Euanthes is the statue of a horse-breeder and his chariot, mounted on the chariot is a young maid. The man's name is Lampus, and his native city was the last to be founded in Macedonia, named after its founder Philip, son of Amyntas. The statue of Cyniscus, the boy boxer from Mantinea, was made by Polycleitus. Ergoteles, the son of Philanor, won two victories in the long foot-race at Olympia, and two at Pytho, the Isthmus and Nemea. The inscription on the statue states that he came originally from Himera, but it is said that this is incorrect, and that he was a Cretan from Cnossus. Expelled from Cnossus by a political party he came to Himera, was given citizenship and won many honours besides. It was accordingly natural for him to be proclaimed at the games as a native of Himera.

V The statue on the high pedestal is the work

<sup>1</sup> See Book III ch x § 5

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- μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, μέγιστος δὲ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο  
 ἀνθρώπων πλὴν τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων καὶ  
 εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἦν πρὸ τῶν ἡρώων θνητὸν γένος·  
 ἀνθρώπων δὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ  
 2 μέγιστος Πουλυδάμας Νικίου. Σκοτοῦσσα δὲ  
 ἡ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντας πατρίς οὐκ ᾤκειτο ἔτι  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν. Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὁ Φεραίων  
 τυραννήσας κατέλαβεν ἐν σπονδαῖς, καὶ Σκο-  
 τουσσαίων τούς τε ἐς τὸ θέατρον συνειλεγμένους  
 —ἐτυχε γάρ σφισι καὶ ἐκκλησία τηλικαῦτα οὔσα  
 —τούτους τε ἅπαντας κατηκόντισε, πελτασταῖς  
 ἐν κύκλῳ περισχὼν καὶ τοξόταις, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ὅσον  
 ἐν ἡλικίᾳ κατεφόνευσε, γυναῖκας δὲ ἀπέδοτο καὶ  
 παῖδας, μισθὸν εἶναι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς ξένοις.  
 3 αὕτη Σκοτουσσαίοις ἡ συμφορὰ Φρασικλείδου  
 μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἐγένετο ἄρχοντος, δευτέρα δὲ  
 Ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν Δάμων Θούριος  
 ἐνῖκα τὸ δεύτερον, ταύτης ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς  
 Ὀλυμπιάδος. καὶ ὀλίγον τε ἔμενε τὸ διαφυγὸν  
 τῶν Σκοτουσσαίων καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας  
 ἐξέλιπον καὶ οὗτοι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν  
 "Ἑλλησι προσπταῖσαι δεύτερα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μακε-  
 δόνας πολέμῳ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ δαίμων.  
 4 Παγκρατίου μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἤδη γεγόνασιν  
 ἐπιφανεῖς νῖκαι· Πουλυδάμαντι δὲ τάδε ἀλλοῖα  
 παρὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ στεφάνους ὑπάρ-  
 χοντά ἐστιν. ἡ ὀρεινὴ τῆς Θράκης, ἡ ἔνδον  
 Νέστου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ῥέοντος διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριτῶν,  
 καὶ ἄλλα θηρία, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς παρέχεται καὶ  
 λέοντας, οἳ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ποτε ἐπιθέμενοι τῷ  
 Ξέρξου τὰς ἀγούσας καμήλους τὰ σιτία ἐλυμή-  
 5 ναντο. οὗτοι πολλάκις οἱ λέοντες καὶ ἐς τὴν



of Lysippus, and it represents the tallest of all men except those called heroes and any other mortal race that may have existed before the heroes. But this man, Pulydamas the son of Nicias, is the tallest of our own era. Scotussa, the native city of Pulydamas, has now no inhabitants, for Alexander the tyrant of Pheiae seized it in time of truce. It happened that an assembly of the citizens was being held, and those who were assembled in the theatre the tyrant surrounded with targeteers and archers, and shot them all down, all the other grown men he massacred, selling the women and children as slaves in order to pay his mercenaries. This disaster befell Scotussa when Phrasicleides <sup>371</sup> was archon at Athens, in the hundred and second Olympiad, when Damon of Thurii was victor for the second time, and in the second year of this Olympiad. The people that escaped remained but for a while, for later they too were forced by their destitution to leave the city, when Heaven brought a second calamity in the war with Macedonia.

Others have won glorious victories in the pancratium, but Pulydamas, besides his prizes for the pancratium, has to his credit the following exploits of a different kind. The mountainous part of Thrace, on this side the river Nestus, which runs through the land of Abdera, breeds among other wild beasts lions, which once attacked the army of Xerxes, and mauled the camels carrying his supplies. These lions often roam right into the land around Mount

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περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον πλανῶνται χώραν· τούτου  
 δὲ τοῦ ὄρους ἡ μὲν εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλευρά, ἡ  
 δὲ ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοῦς καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τέτραπται  
 τὸν Πηνειόν· ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πουλυδάμας λέοντα ἐν  
 τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ, μέγα καὶ ἄλκιμον θηρίον, κατειρ-  
 γάσατο οὐδενὶ ἐσκευασμένος ὄπλῳ· προήχθη δὲ  
 εἰς τὸ τόλμημα φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ Ἡρακλέους  
 ἔργα, ὅτι καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἔχει λόγος κρατῆσαι  
 6 τοῦ ἐν Νεμέᾳ λέοντος. ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 θαῦμα ὑπελίπετο ὁ Πουλυδάμας εἰς μνήμην· εἰς  
 ἀγέλην ἐσελθὼν βοῶν τὸν μέγιστον καὶ ἀγριώτα-  
 τον ταῦρον λαβὼν τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὀπισθεν  
 ποδῶν τὰς χηλὰς κατεῖχεν ἄκρας, καὶ πηδῶντα  
 καὶ ἐπειγόμενον οὐκ ἀνίει, πρὶν γε δὴ ὁ ταῦρος  
 ὀψέ ποτε καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἀφικόμενος βίας ἀπέφυγεν  
 ἀφείς ταύτῃ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι τὰς χηλὰς.  
 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄνδρα ἡνίοχον ἐλαύνοντα  
 σπουδῇ τὸ ἄρμα ἐπέσχε τοῦ πρόσω· λαβόμενος  
 γὰρ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ὀπισθε τοῦ ἅρματος,  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους πεδήσας καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον  
 7 εἶχε Δαρεῖος δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς νόθος, ὃς  
 ὁμοῦ τῷ Περσῶν δήμῳ Σόγδιον καταπαύσας  
 παῖδα Ἀρταξέρξου γνήσιον ἔσχεν αὐτ' ἐκείνου  
 τὴν ἀρχήν, οὗτος ὡς ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Δαρεῖος—  
 ἐπυνθάνετο γὰρ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὰ ἔργα—,  
 πέμπων ἀγγέλους ὑπισχνούμενος δῶρα ἀνέπεισεν  
 αὐτὸν εἰς Σοῦσά τε καὶ εἰς ὄψιν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ. ἔνθα δὴ κατὰ πρόκλησιν Περσῶν  
 ἄνδρας τῶν καλουμένων ἀθανάτων ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς  
 ἀθρόους οἱ μονομαχήσαντας ἀπέκτειεν ἔργων  
 δὲ τῶν κατειλεγμένων οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ  
 τοῦ ἀνδριάντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ δηλούμενά

Olympus, one side of which is turned towards Macedonia, and the other towards Thessaly and the river Peneius. Here on Mount Olympus Pulydamas slew a lion, a huge and powerful beast, without the help of any weapon. To this exploit he was impelled by an ambition to rival the labours of Heracles, because Heracles also, legend says, overthrew the lion at Nemea. In addition to this, Pulydamas is remembered for another wonderful performance. He went among a herd of cattle and seized the biggest and fiercest bull by one of its hind feet, holding fast the hoof in spite of the bull's leaps and struggles, until at last it put forth all its strength and escaped, leaving the hoof in the grasp of Pulydamas. It is also said of him that he stopped a charioteer who was driving his chariot onwards at a great speed. Seizing with one hand the back of the chariot he kept a tight hold on both horses and driver. Dareius, the bastard son of Artaxeixes, who with the support of the Persian common people put down Sogdius, the legitimate son of Artaxeixes, and ascended the throne in his stead, learning when he was king of the exploits of Pulydamas, sent messengers with the promise of gifts and persuaded him to come before his presence at Susa. There he challenged three of the Persians called Immortals to fight him—one against three—and killed them. Of his exploits enumerated, some are represented on the pedestal of the statue at Olympia, and others are set forth in the inscription

- 8 ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρτι  
τὸ ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου προθεσπισθὲν ἄλλους τε τῷ  
φρονησάντων ἐπὶ ἰσχύϊ καὶ Πουλυδάμαντα ἐπι  
λήψεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμης ἔμελλε  
ἀπολεῖσθαι καὶ οὗτος. ἐς σπήλαιον γὰρ οἳ τ  
ἄλλοι τῶν συμποτῶν καὶ ὁ Πουλυδάμας ἐσήλθε.  
ὥρα θέρους, καὶ πῶς οὐ κατὰ τινα ἀγαθὸν  
δαίμονα ἢ κορυφῇ τηνικαῦτα τοῦ σπηλαίου  
κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ δῆλα ἦν ὡς αὐτίκα ἐμπεσεῖσθαι  
καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν ἔμελλεν ἀνθέξειν  
9 γενομένης δὲ αἰσθήσεως τοῦ ἐπιόντος κακοῦ κα  
τρεπομένων ἐς φυγὴν τῶν λοιπῶν παρέστι  
καταμεῖναι τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι, καὶ ἀνέσχε τὰς  
χεῖρας ὡς ἐπιπίπτουσι ἀνθέξων τῷ σπηλαίῳ  
καὶ οὐ βιασθησόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους. VI. Τοῦ  
τῷ μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐγένετο ἡ τελευτὴ ἐν δὲ  
Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Πουλυδάμαντος τὸν ἀν  
δριάντα δύο τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀττικῶν  
ὁ τρίτος ἔστηκεν ἀθλητής. τὸν μὲν δὲ Μαντινέας  
Πρωτόλαον Διαλκοῦς πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα  
ὁ Ῥηγίνος Πυθαγόρας, Ναρυκίδαν δὲ τὸν Δαμα  
ρέτου παλαιστὴν ἄνδρα ἐκ Φιγαλίας Σικυώνιος  
Δαίδαλος, Καλλία δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ παγκρατιαστῇ  
τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Μίκων ἐποίησεν  
ὁ ζωγράφος. Νικοδάμου δὲ ἔργον τοῦ Μαιναλίου  
παγκρατιαστής ἐστιν ἐκ Μαινάλου, δύο νίκας  
ἐν ἀνδράσι ἀνελόμενος, Ἀνδροσθένης Λοχαίου.  
2 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Εὐκλῆς ἀνάκειται Καλλιάνακτος,  
γένος μὲν Ῥόδιος, οἴκου δὲ τοῦ Διαγοριδῶν.  
θυγατὶς γὰρ Διαγόρου παῖς ἦν, ἐν δὲ ἀνδράσι  
πυγμῆς ἔσχευ Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην. τούτου μὲν δὲ  
ἢ εἰκῶν Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ἔργον· Πολύκλειτος δὲ

But after all, the prophecy of Homer<sup>1</sup> respecting those who glory in their strength was to be fulfilled also in the case of Pulydamas, and he too was fated to perish through his own might. For Pulydamas entered a cave with the rest of his boon companions. It was summer-time, and, as ill-luck would have it, the roof of the cave began to crack. It was obvious that it would quickly fall in, and could not hold out much longer. Realising the disaster that was coming, the others turned and ran away, but Pulydamas resolved to remain, holding up his hands in the belief that he could prevent the falling in of the cave and would not be crushed by the mountain. Here Pulydamas met his end. VI. Beside the statue of Pulydamas at Olympia stand two Arcadians and one Attic athlete. The statue of the Mantinean, Protolaus the son of Dialces, who won the boxing-match for boys, was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium; that of Naicydas, son of Damaretus, a wrestler from Phigalia, was made by Daedalus of Sicyon, that of the Athenian Callias, a pancratiast, is by the Athenian painter Micon. Nicodamus the Maenalian made the statue of the Maenalian pancratiast Androstheneas, the son of Lochaeus, who won two victories among the men. By these is set up a statue of Eucles, son of Callianax, a native of Rhodes and of the family of the Diagoridae. For he was the son of the daughter of Diagoras, and won an Olympic victory in the boxing-match for men. His statue is by Naucydes.

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi 407

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Ἀργεῖος, οὐχ ὁ τῆς Ἡρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιήσας, μαθητῆς δὲ Ναυκύδους, παλαιστὴν παῖδα εἰργάσατο Θηβαῖον Ἀγήνορα. ἀνετέθη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φωκέων κοινοῦ. Θεόπομπος γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος πρόξενος τοῦ ἔθνους ἦν αὐτῶν.

3 Νικόδαμος δὲ ὁ πλάστης ὁ ἐκ Μαινάλου Δαμοξενίδαν ἄνδρα πύκτην ἐποίησεν ἐκ Μαινάλου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ Λαστρατίδα παιδὸς εἰκὼν Ἡλείου, πάλης ἀνελομένου στέφανον ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νεμείων ἐν τε παισὶ καὶ ἀγενείων ἐτέρα νίκη. Παραβάλλουσι δὲ τῷ Λαστρατίδα πατρὶ ὑπῆρξε μὲν διαύλου παρελθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὑπελίπετο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα φιλοτιμίαν, τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίασι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράφας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

4 Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τούτους εἶχεν οὕτω· τὰ δὲ ἐς Εὐθυμον τὸν πύκτην, οὗ με εἰκὸς ὑπερβαίνειν ἦν τὰ ἐς τὰς νίκας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ὑπάρχοντα τὴν ἄλλην. γένος μὲν δὴ ἦν ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Λοκρῶν, οἱ χώραν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ νέμονται, πατρὸς δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἀστυκλέους· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ τούτου, ποταμοῦ δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ Καικίνου φασίν, ὃς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Ῥηγίνην ὀρίζων τὸ ἐς τοὺς τέττιγας παρέχεται θαῦμα οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέττιγες οἱ ἐντὸς τῆς Λοκρίδος ἄχρι τοῦ Καικίνου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τέττιξιν ἄδουσι· διαβάντων δὲ τὸν Καικίνην οὐδεμίαν ἔτι οἱ ἐν τῇ Ῥηγίνῃ τέττιγες ἀφιάσι<sup>1</sup> φωνήν. τούτου μὲν δὴ παῖδα εἶναι λέγεται τὸν Εὐθυμον· ἀνελομένῳ δὲ οἱ πυγμαῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκην τετάρτην πρὸς ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> Here the MSS. have τὴν which Porson deleted.

Polycleitus of Argos, not the artist who made the image of Hera, but a pupil of Naucydes, made the statue of a boy wrestler, Agenor of Thebes. The statue was dedicated by the Phocian Commonwealth, for Theopompus, the father of Agenor, was a state friend<sup>1</sup> of their nation. Nicodamus, the sculptor from Maenalus, made the statue of the boxer Damoxenidas of Maenalus. There stands also the statue of the Elean boy Lastiatidas, who won the crown for wrestling. He won a victory at Nemea also among the boys, and another among the beardless striplings. Paraballon, the father of Lastratidas, was first in the double foot-race, and he left to those coming after an object of ambition, by writing up in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of those who won Olympic victories.

So much for these. But it would not be right for me to pass over the boxer Euthymus, his victories and his other glories. Euthymus was by birth one of the Italian Locrians, who dwell in the region near the headland called the West Point, and he was called son of Astycles. Local legend, however, makes him the son, not of this man, but of the river Caecinus, which divides Locris from the land of Rhegium and produces the marvel of the grasshoppers. For the grasshoppers within Locris as far as the Caecinus sing just like others, but across the Caecinus in the territory of Rhegium they do not utter a sound. This river then, according to tradition, was the father of Euthymus, who, though he won the prize for boxing at the seventy-fourth Olympic 484 B C

<sup>1</sup> *Proxenos*: that is he was a Theban who had under his care the interests of Phocians in Thebes.

ἐβδομήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδι οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν  
 ἐπιούσαν ὀλυμπιάδα ἔμελλε χωρήσειν· Θεαγένης  
 γὰρ ὁ Θάσιος ὀλυμπιάδι ἐθέλων τῇ αὐτῇ πυγμῇς  
 τε ἀνελέσθαι καὶ παγκρατίου νίκας ὑπερεβάλετο  
 πυκτεύων τὸν Εὐθυμον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὁ Θεαγένης  
 ἐπὶ τῷ παγκρατίῳ λαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη· τὸν κότινον  
 ἅτε προκατεργασθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τὸν Εὐ-  
 6 θυμον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἱ Ἑλλανο-  
 δίκαι τῷ Θεαγένει τάλαντον μὲν ἱερὰν ἐς τὸν  
 θεὸν ζημίαν, τάλαντον δὲ βλάβης τῆς ἐς  
 Εὐθυμον, ὅτι ἐπηρείᾳ τῇ ἐς ἐκείνον ἐδόκει σφίσιν  
 ἐπανελέσθαι τὸ ἀγώνισμα τῆς πυγμῆς· τούτων  
 ἔνεκα καταδικάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκτίσαι καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ  
 Εὐθύμῳ χρήματα. ἕκτη δὲ ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς  
 ἐβδομήκοντα τὸ μὲν τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἀργυρίου γινό-  
 μενον ἐξέτισεν ὁ Θεαγένης, \* \*<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀμειβόμενος  
 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐσηλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν πυγμὴν· καὶ ἐπ'  
 ἐκείνης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην ὀλυμ-  
 πιάδος τὸν ἐπὶ πυγμῇ στέφανον ἀνείλετο ὁ  
 Εὐθυμος. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς τέχνη τέ ἐστι  
 Πυθαγόρου καὶ θεὰς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄξιος.  
 7 ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς Ἰταλίαν τότε δὴ ἐμαχέσατο  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἥρω· τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὕτως.  
 Ὀδυσσεὰ πλανώμενον μετὰ ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου  
 κατενεχθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἔς τε ἄλλας  
 τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πόλεων, ἀφικέσθαι  
 δὲ καὶ ἐς Τεμέσαν ὁμοῦ ναυσί· μεθυσθέντα οὖν  
 ἐνταῦθα εἷα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι  
 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀντὶ τούτου καταλευσ-  
 8 θῆναι τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ὀδυσσεὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν  
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀπο-  
 πλέοντα οἴχεσθαι, τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ



Festival, was not to be so successful at the next. For Theagenes of Thasos, wishing to win the prizes for boxing and for the pancratium at the same Festival, overcame Euthymus at boxing, though he had not the strength to gain the wild olive in the pancratium, because he was already exhausted in his fight with Euthymus. Thereupon the umpires fined Theagenes a talent, to be sacred to the god, and a talent for the harm done to Euthymus, holding that it was merely to spite him that he entered for the boxing competition. For this reason they condemned him to pay an extra fine privately to Euthymus. At the seventy-sixth Festival Theagenes paid in full the money owed to the god, and as compensation to Euthymus did not enter for the boxing-match. At this Festival, and also at the next following, Euthymus won the crown for boxing. His statue is the handiwork of Pythagoras, and is very well worth seeing. On his return to Italy Euthymus fought against the Hero, the story about whom is as follows. Odysseus, so they say, in his wanderings after the capture of Troy was carried down by gales to various cities of Italy and Sicily, and among them he came with his ships to Temesa. Here one of his sailors got drunk and violated a maiden, for which offence he was stoned to death by the natives. Now Odysseus, it is said, cared nothing about his loss and sailed away. But the ghost of the stoned man

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<sup>1</sup> There is probably a gap in the text here.

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- ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα ἀνιέναι καιρὸν  
 ἀποκτείνοντά τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ  
 καὶ ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, ἐς ὃ ἡ  
 Πυθία τὸ παράπαν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ὠρμημένους  
 φεύγειν Τεμέσαν μὲν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐκ εἶα, τὸν δὲ  
 Ἥρω σφᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι τέμενός τε  
 ἀποτεμομένους οἰκοδομήσασθαι ναόν, διδόναι δὲ  
 9 κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων  
 τὴν καλλίστην. τοῖς μὲν δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 προστεταγμένα ὑπουργοῦσι δεῖμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δαί-  
 μονος ἐς τᾶλλα ἦν οὐδέν· Εὐθύμος δὲ—ἀφίκετο  
 γὰρ ἐς τὴν Τεμέσαν, καὶ πως τηνικαῦτα τὸ ἔθος  
 ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δαίμονι—πυνθάνεται τὰ παρόντα  
 σφίσι, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν  
 καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐσελθὼν θεάσασθαι. ὥς δὲ  
 εἶδε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς οἶκτον, δεύτερα δὲ ἀφίκετο  
 καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς· καὶ ἡ παῖς τε συνοικήσειν  
 κατώμνυτο αὐτῷ σώσαντι αὐτὴν καὶ ὁ Εὐθύμος  
 ἐνεσκευασμένος ἔμενε τὴν ἔφοδον τοῦ δαίμονος.  
 10 ἐνίκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ—ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ  
 τῆς γῆς—ὁ Ἥρως ἀφανίζεται τε καταδύς ἐς  
 θάλασσαν καὶ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς Εὐθύμῳ καὶ  
 ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐλευθερία τοῦ λοιποῦ  
 σφισιν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος. ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε  
 ἔτι ἐς τὸν Εὐθύμον, ὥς γήρως τε ἐπὶ μακρότατον  
 ἀφίκοιτο καὶ ὥς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκφυγὼν αὐθις ἕτερόν  
 τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέλθοι τρόπον· οἰκείσθαι δὲ  
 τὴν Τεμέσαν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα πλεῦ-  
 11 σαντος κατὰ ἐμπορίαν. τόδε μὲν ἤκουσα, γραφῇ  
 δὲ τοιάδε ἐπιτυχὼν οἶδα· ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς  
 μίμημα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος Σύβαρις καὶ Κά-  
 λαβρός τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγὴ, πρὸς δὲ

never ceased killing without distinction the people of Temesa, attacking both old and young, until, when the inhabitants had resolved to flee from Italy for good, the Pythian priestess forbad them to leave Temesa, and ordered them to propitiate the Hero, setting him a sanctuary apart and building a temple, and to give him every year as wife the fairest maiden in Temesa. So they performed the commands of the god and suffered no more terrors from the ghost. But Euthymus happened to come to Temesa just at the time when the ghost was being propitiated in the usual way, learning what was going on he had a strong desire to enter the temple, and not only to enter it but also to look at the maiden. When he saw her he first felt pity and afterwards love for her. The girl swore to marry him if he saved her, and so Euthymus with his aimour on awaited the onslaught of the ghost. He won the fight, and the Hero was driven out of the land and disappeared, sinking into the depth of the sea. Euthymus had a distinguished wedding, and the inhabitants were freed from the ghost for ever. I heard another story also about Euthymus, how that he reached extreme old age, and escaping again from death departed from among men in another way. Temesa is still inhabited, as I heard from a man who sailed there as a merchant. This I heard, and I also saw by chance a picture dealing with the subject. It was a copy of an ancient picture. There were a stripling, Sybaris, a river, Calabrus, and a spring, Lyca. Besides, there

ἡρώων τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δέ σφισι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὐθύμος, χροάν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχετο δέρμα ἐσθῆτα· ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα.

VII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο εἰρήσθω· μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Εὐθύμου Πύθαρχός τε ἔστηκε Μαντινεὺς σταδιοδρόμος καὶ πύκτης Ἥλειος Χαρμίδης, λαβόντες νίκας ἐπὶ παισί θεασάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἀθλητῶν ἀφίξῃ τὰς εἰκόνας, Διαγόραν καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος· οἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς τε ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ τοιῶδε ἀνέκειντο, Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν λαβὼν πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον, Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί. πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ Δωριέως ἐκράτησε καὶ Δαμάγητος τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸ  
 2 παγκράτιον. οὗτοι μὲν ἀδελφοί τέ εἰσι καὶ Διαγόρου παῖδες, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς κεῖται καὶ ὁ Διαγόρας, πυγμῆς ἐν ἀνδράσιν ἀνελόμενος νίκην· τοῦ Διαγόρου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα Μεγαρεὺς εἰργάσατο Καλλικλῆς Θεοκόσμου τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Μεγάροις τοῦ Διός. Διαγόρου δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν θυγατέρων παῖδες πύξ τε ἤσκησαν καὶ ἔσχον Ὀλυμπικὰς νίκας, ἐν μὲν ἀνδράσιν Εὐκλῆς Καλλιάνακτός τε ὦν καὶ Καλλιπατείρας τῆς Διαγόρου, Πεισίροδος δὲ ἐν παισίν, ὃν ἡ μήτηρ  
 3 Ὀλυμπίων αὐτὴ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤγαγεν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πεισίροδος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλτεϊ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἔστηκε Διαγόραν δὲ καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς

were a hero-shrine and the city of Temesa, and in the midst was the ghost that Euthymus cast out Horribly black in colour, and exceedingly dreadful in all his appearance, he had a wolf's skin thrown round him as a garment The letters on the picture gave his name as Lycas

VII. So much for the story of Euthymus After his statue stands a runner in the foot-race, Pytharchus of Mantinea, and a boxer, Chaimides of Elis, both of whom won prizes in the contests for boys When you have looked at these also you will reach the statues of the Rhodian athletes, Diagoras and his family These were dedicated one after the other in the following order Acusilaus, who received a crown for boxing in the men's class, Doriæus, the youngest, who won the pancratium at Olympia on three successive occasions Even before Doriæus, Damagetus beat all those who had entered for the pancratium These were brothers, being sons of Diagoras, and by them is set up also a statue of Diagoras himself, who won a victory for boxing in the men's class The statue of Diagoras was made by the Megarian Calicles, the son of the Theocosmus who made the image of Zeus at Megara The sons too of the daughters of Diagoras practised boxing and won Olympic victories in the men's class Eucles, son of Callianax and Callipatena, daughter of Diagoras, in the boys' class Peisirodus, whose mother dressed herself as a man and a trainer, and took her son herself to the Olympic games This Peisirodus is one of the statues in the Altis, and stands by the father of his mother The story goes that Diagoras came to Olympia in the company of

παισὶν Ἀκουσιλάῳ καὶ Δαμαγήτῳ λέγουσιν ἐς  
 Ὀλυμπίαν ἐλθεῖν· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι  
 διὰ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὸν πατέρα ἔφερον βαλλό-  
 μενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄνθεσι καὶ εὐδαίμονα  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καλούμενον. γένος δὲ ὁ Διαγόρας  
 τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Μεσσήνιος πρὸς γυναικῶν ἦν καὶ  
 4 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστομένους ἐγεγόνει θυγατρός. Δωριεῖ  
 δὲ τῷ Διαγόρου παρέξ ἡ<sup>1</sup> Ὀλυμπίασιν Ἰσθμίων  
 μὲν γεγονάσιν ὀκτὼ νῖκαι, Νεμείων δὲ ἀποδέουσai  
 μιᾶς ἐς τὰς ὀκτὼ· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πύθια  
 ἀνέλοιτο ἀκονιτί. ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτος τε καὶ  
 ὁ Πεισίροδος Θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντι-  
 στασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ  
 Θουρίους ἀπελθόντες χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον κατήλ-  
 θεν ὁ Δωριεὺς ἐς Ῥόδον· καὶ φανερώτατα δὴ  
 ἀπάντων ἀνὴρ εἰς φρονήσας οὗτος τὰ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων φαίνεται, ὥστε καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν ἐναντία  
 Ἀθηναίων ναυσὶν οἰκείαις, ἐς ὃ τριήρων ἁλοὺς  
 5 Ἀττικῶν ἀνήχθη ζῶν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους οἱ δὲ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι πρὶν μὲν ἡ Δωριέα παρὰ σφᾶς ἀναχ-  
 θῆναι θυμῷ τε ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπειλαῖς ἐχρῶντο·  
 ὥς δὲ ἐς ἐκκλησίαν συνελθόντες ἄνδρα οὕτω  
 μέγαν καὶ δόξης ἐς τοσοῦτο ἤκοντα ἐθεάσαντο  
 ἐν σχήματι αἰχμαλώτου, μεταπίπτει σφίσιν ἐς  
 αὐτὸν ἡ γνώμη καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ἀφιασιν οὐδὲ ἔργον  
 οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργάζονται, παρόν σφισι πολλά τε  
 6 καὶ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ δρᾶσαι. τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ  
 Δωριέως τὴν τελευτήν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ  
 τῇ Ἀθίδι Ἀνδροτίωνι εἰρημένα, εἶναι μὲν τη-  
 νικαῦτα ἐν Καύνῳ τὸ βασιλέως ναυτικὸν καὶ  
 Κόνωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγόν, Ῥοδίων δὲ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> παρέξ ἡ Bekker for MSS παρεξῆς.

his sons Acusilaus and Damagetus. The youths on defeating their father proceeded to carry him through the crowd, while the Greeks pelted him with flowers and congratulated him on his sons. The family of Diagoras was originally, through the female line, Messenian, as he was descended from the daughter of Aristomenes. Dorieus, son of Diagoras, besides his Olympian victories, won eight at the Isthmian and seven at the Nemean games. He is also said to have won a Pythian victory without a contest. He and Peisnodus were proclaimed by the herald as of Thuri, for they had been pursued by their political enemies from Rhodes to Thuri in Italy. Dorieus subsequently returned to Rhodes. Of all men he most obviously showed his friendship with Sparta, for he actually fought against the Athenians with his own ships, until he was taken prisoner by Attic men-of-war and brought alive to Athens. Before he was brought to them the Athenians were wroth with Dorieus and used threats against him, but when they met in the assembly and beheld a man so great and famous in the guise of a prisoner, their feeling towards him changed, and they let him go away without doing him any hurt, and that though they might with justice have punished him severely. The death of Dorieus is told by Androtion in his Attic history. He says that the great King's fleet was then at Caunus, with Conon in command, who persuaded the Rhodian people to leave the

δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύνωνος ἀπὸ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων μεταβαλέσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως  
 καὶ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν  
 μὲν τότε ἐκ Ῥόδου περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς<sup>1</sup> Πελοποννήσου  
 χωρία, συλληφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναχθέντα ἐς Σπάρτην ἀδικεῖν  
 τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καταγνωσθῆναι καὶ ἐπι-  
 7 βληθῆναί οἱ θάνατον ζημίαν. εἰ δὲ τὸν ὄντα  
 εἶπεν Ἀνδροτίων λόγον, ἐθέλειν μοι φαίνεται  
 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἔτι Ἀθηναίοις κατα-  
 στησαι, ὅτι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Θράσυλλον καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ὁμοῦ τῷ Θρασύλλῳ στρατη-  
 γήσαντας προπετείας ἐστὶν ἔγκλημα

Διαγόρας μὲν δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος δόξης  
 8 ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀφίκοντο· ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαινέτῳ  
 τῷ Θεάντῳ Λεπρεάτῃ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν  
 Ὀλυμπικαὶ νῖκαι αὐτὸς μὲν γε πυκτεύων ὁ  
 Ἀλκαίνετος ἐν τε ἀνδράσι καὶ πρότερον ἔτι  
 ἐπεκράτησεν ἐν παισίν· Ἑλλάνικον δὲ τὸν  
 Ἀλκαινέτου καὶ Θεάντον ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων  
 ἀναγορευθῆναι τὸν μὲν ἐνάτῃ πρὸς ταῖς ὀγδοή-  
 κοντα ὀλυμπιάδι, τὸν δὲ τῇ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ συνέβη  
 τὸν Θεάντον· καὶ σφισιν ἀνδριάντες ἅπασιν ἐν  
 9 Ὀλυμπίᾳ κεῖνται. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκαινέτου τοῖς  
 υἱοῖς Γνάθων τε Διπαιεὺς τῆς Μαυναλέων χώρας  
 καὶ Λυκῖνος ἔστηκεν Ἡλεῖος· κρατῆσαι δὲ Ὀλυμ-  
 πίασι πυγμῇ παῖδας ὑπῆρξε καὶ τούτοις Γνάθωνα  
 δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ὅτε ἐνίκησεν, εἶναι νέον  
 τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησί· Καλλικλέους  
 10 δὲ τοῦ Μεγαρέως ποίημα ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐστίν. ἀνὴρ  
 δὲ ἐκ Στυμφήλου Δρομεὺς ὄνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκτὸς MSS ἐντὸς Dindorf.



Lacedaemonian alliance and to join the great King and the Athenians. Dioneus, he goes on to say, was at the time away from home in the interior of the Peloponnesus, and having been caught by some Lacedaemonians he was brought to Sparta, convicted of treachery by the Lacedaemonians and sentenced to death. If Andriotion tells the truth, he appeals to me to wish to put the Lacedaemonians on a level with the Athenians, because they too are open to the charge of precipitous action in their treatment of Thiasyllus and his fellow admuials at the battle of <sup>406 B C</sup> Arginusae.

Such was the fame won by Diagoras and his family. Alcaenetus too, son of Theantus, a Leprean, himself and his sons won Olympian victories. Alcaenetus was successful in the boxing contest for men, as at an earlier date he had been in the contest for boys. His sons, Hellanicus and Theantus, were proclaimed winners of the boys' boxing-match, Hellanicus at the eighty-ninth Festival and Theantus <sup>424 B C</sup> at the next. All have their statues set up at Olympia. Next to the sons of Alcaenetus stand Gnathon, a Maenalian of Dipaea, and Lucinus of Elis. These too succeeded in beating the boys at boxing at Olympia. The inscription on his statue says that Gnathon was very young indeed when he won his victory. The artist who made the statue was Callicles of Megara. A man from Stympthalus, by name Dromeus (*Runner*), proved true to it in the

## PAUSANIAS. DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπὶ δολίχῳ παρεσχημένος, δύο μὲν ἔσχευεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τοσαύτας δὲ ἄλλας Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθμίων τε τρεῖς καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ πέντε. λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ κρέας ἐσθίειν ἐπινοήσκει· τέως δὲ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς σιτία τυρὸν ἐκ τῶν ταλάρων εἶναι· τούτου μὲν δὴ Πυθαγόρας τὴν εἰκόνα, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς ταύτῃ, πένταθλον Ἥλειον Πυθοκλέα, Πολύκλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος.

VIII. Σωκράτους δὲ Πελληνέως δρόμου νίκην ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότος καὶ Ἥλειου Ἀμέρτου καταπαλαίσαντος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παῖδας, καταπαλαίσαντος δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ τοὺς ἐλθόντας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ μὲν τὸν ποιήσαντα τὴν εἰκόνα οὐ λέγουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἀμέρτου Φράδμων ἐποίησεν Ἀργεῖος. Εὐανορίδα δὲ Ἥλειῳ πάλης ἐν παισὶν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν τε Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμείῳ νίκη· γενόμενος δὲ Ἑλλανοδίκης ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν νενικηκότων.

- 2 Ἐς δὲ πύκτην ἄνδρα, γένος μὲν Ἀρκαῖδα ἐκ Παρρασίῳν, Δάμαρχον δὲ ὄνομα, οὐ μοι πιστὰ ἦν πέρα γε τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκης ὅποσα ἄλλα ἀνδρῶν ἀλαζόνων ἐστὶν εἰρημένα, ὡς ἐξ ἀνθρώπου μεταβάλοι τὸ εἶδος ἐς λύκον ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός, καὶ ὡς ὕστερον τούτων ἔτει δεκάτῳ γένοιτο αὖθις ἄνθρωπος. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν λέγεσθαι μοι τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο ἐς αὐτόν, ἐλέγετο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ· ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·

υἱὸς Δινύτα Δάμαρχος τάνδ' ἀνέθηκεν  
εἰκόν' ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας Παρράσιος γενεάν.

long race, for he won two victories at Olympia, two at Pytho, three at the Isthmus and five at Nemea. He is said to have also conceived the idea of a flesh diet, up to this time athletes had fed on cheese from the basket. The statue of this athlete is by Pythagoras, the one next to it, representing Pythocles, a pentathlete of Elis, was made by Polycleitus.

VIII Socrates of Pellene won the boys' race, and Ameites of Elis the wrestlers' match for boys at Olympia, besides beating all competitors in the men's wrestling match at Pytho. It is not said who made the statue of Socrates, but that of Amertes is from the hand of Phiadmon of Argos. Euanoridas of Elis won the boys' wrestling-match both at Olympia and at Nemea. When he was made an umpire he joined the ranks of those who have recorded at Olympia the names of the victors.

As to the boxer, by name Damaichus, an Arcadian of Parrhasia, I cannot believe (except, of course, his Olympic victory) what romancers say about him, how he changed his shape into that of a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean (*Wolf*) Zeus, and how nine years after he became a man again. Nor do I think that the Arcadians either record this of him, otherwise it would have been recorded as well in the inscription at Olympia, which runs:—

This statue was dedicated by Damarchus, son  
of Dinytas,  
A Parrhasian by birth from Arcadia

- 3 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο πεποιήται· Εὐβώτας δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ἅτε τὴν ἐσομένην οἱ δρόμου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ μαντείου τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ προπεπυσμένος, τὴν τε εἰκόνα ἐπεποίητο πρότερον καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνηγορεύθη τε νικήσας καὶ ἀνέθηκε τὴν εἰκόνα. λέγεται δὲ ὥς κρατήσῃ καὶ ἄρματι ἐπὶ ὀλυμπιάδος ταύτης ἢ λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἐστὶ κίβδηλος τῶν ἀγωνοθετησάντων Ἀρκάδων ἕνεκα.
- 4 Κλεωναῖο δὲ Τιμάνθει παγκρατίου λαβόντι ἐν ἀνδράσι στέφανον καὶ Τροιζηνίῳ Βαύκιδι παλαιστὰς καταβαλόντι ἄνδρας, τῷ μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος, Βαύκιδι δὲ Ναυκύδους ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδρίας ἔργον. τῷ δὲ Τιμάνθει τὸ τέλος τοῦ βίου συμβῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ αἰτία τοιαῦδε. πεπαῦσθαι μὲν ἀθλοῦντα, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸν ἔτι τῆς ἰσχύος, τόξον μέγα ἐπὶ ἐκάστης τείνοντα τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀποδημῆσαί τε δὴ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τόξῳ τηνικαῦτα ἐκλειφθῆναί οἱ τὴν μελέτην· ὥς δὲ ἐπανήκων οὐχ οἷός τε ἔτι τείναι τὸ τόξον ἐγένετο, πῦρ ἀνακαύσας ἀφίησι ζῶντα ἐς τὴν πυρὰν αὐτόν. ὅποσα δὲ ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ ὕστερόν ποτε ἔσται, μανία μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρία νομίζοιτο ἂν κατὰ γὰρ ἐμὴν γνώμην.
- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Βαύκιδά εἰσιν ἀθλητῶν Ἀρκάδων εἰκόνες, Εὐθυμένης τε ἐξ αὐτῆς Μαινάλου, νίκας τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πάλης, τὴν δ' ἔτι πρότερον ἐν παισὶν εἰληφώς, καὶ Ἀζὰν ἐκ Πελλάνας Φίλιππος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας, καὶ Κριτόδαμος ἐκ Κλείτορος, ἐπὶ πυγμῇ καὶ οὗτος ἀναγορευθεὶς παίδων· τὰς δὲ σφισιν εἰκόνας, τὴν μὲν ἐν παισὶ

## ELIS II, VIII 3-5

Here the inscription ends. Eubotas of Cyrene, when the Libyan oracle foretold to him his coming Olympic victory for running, had his portrait statue made beforehand, and so was proclaimed victor and dedicated the statue on the same day. He is also said to have won the chariot-race at that Festival which, according to the account of the Eleans, was not genuine because the Arcadians presided at it.

The statue of Timanthes of Cleonae, who won the crown in the pancratium for men, was made by Myion of Athens, but Naucydes made that of Baucis of Tioezen, who overthrew the men wrestlers Timanthes, they say, met his end through the following cause. On returning from athletics he continued to test his strength by drawing a great bow every day. His practice with the bow was interrupted during a period when he was away from home. On his return, finding that he was no longer able to bend the bow, he lit a fire and threw himself alive on to it. In my view all such deeds, whether they have already occurred among men or will take place hereafter, ought to be regarded as acts of madness rather than of courage.

After Baucis are statues of Arcadian athletes: Euthymenes from Maenalus itself, who won the men's and previously the boys' wrestling-match, Philip, an Azanian from Pellana, who beat the boys at boxing, and Critodamus from Cleitor, who like Philip was proclaimed victor in the boys' boxing-

τοῦ Εὐθυμένους Ἄλυπος, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Δαμοκρίτου Κλέων, Φιλίππου δὲ τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος Μύρων τὴν εἰκόνα ἐποίησε. τὰ δὲ ἐς Πρόμαχον τὸν Δρύωνος παγκρατιαστήν Πελληνέα προσέσται μοι καὶ 6 ταῦτα τῷ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς λόγῳ. Προμάχου δὲ οὐ πόρρω Τιμασίθεος ἀνάκειται γένος Δελφός, Ἀγελάδα μὲν ἔργον τοῦ Ἀργείου, παγκρατίου δὲ δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ νίκας, τρεῖς δὲ ἀνηρημένους Πυθοῖ. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν πολέμοις ἐστὶν ἔργα τῇ τε τόλμῃ λαμπρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέοντα τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ τελευταίου· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ θάνατον τὸ ἐγχείρημα ἤνεγκεν. Ἰσαγόρα γὰρ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλαβόντι ἐπὶ τυραννίδι μετασχὼν τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ὁ Τιμασίθεος—ἐγένετο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκαταληφθέντων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει—θάνατον ζημίαν εὔρετο τοῦ ἀδικήματος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων

ΙΧ. Θεογνήτῳ δὲ Αἰγινίτῃ πάλης μὲν στέφανον λαβεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἐν παισί, τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα οἱ Πτόλιχος ἐποίησεν Αἰγινίτης. διδάσκαλοι δὲ ἐγεγόνεσαν Πτολίχῳ μὲν Συνοῶν ὁ πατήρ, ἐκείνῳ δὲ Ἀριστοκλῆς Σικυώνιος, ἀδελφός τε Κανάχου καὶ οὐ πολὺ τὰ ἐς δόξαν ἐλασσούμενος. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὲ ὁ Θεόγνητος πίτυος τῆς γ' ἡμέρου καὶ ῥοιᾶς φέρει καρπὸν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν συμβαλέσθαι, τάχα δ' ἂν Αἰγινίταις 2 τισὶν ἐπιχώριος ἐς αὐτὰ ἂν εἴη λόγος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὃν Ἡλείοι φασιν οὐ γραφῆναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἐπὶ κάλπης ἀνηγορεύθη δρόμῳ, μετὰ τούτου τὴν εἰκόνα Ξενοκλῆς τε Μαινάλιος ἔστηκε παλαιστὰς καταβαλὼν παῖδας καὶ Ἀλκετος Ἀλκίνου κρατήσας πυγμῇ

match The statue of Euthymenes for his victory over the boys was made by Alypus, the statue of Damocritus was made by Cleon, and that of Philip the Azanian by Myion The story of Promachus, son of Dyon, a pancratiast of Pellene, will be included in my account of the Achaeans<sup>1</sup> Not far from Promachus is set up the statue of Timasitheus, a Delphian by birth, the work of Ageladas of Argos This athlete won in the pancratium two victories at Olympia and three at Pytho His achievements in war too are distinguished by their daring and by the good luck which attended all but the last, which caused his death For when Isagoras the Athenian captured the Acropolis of the Athenians with a view to setting up a tyranny, Timasitheus took part in the affair, and, on being taken prisoner on the Acropolis, was put to death by the Athenians for his sin against them.

IX. Theognetus of Aegina succeeded in winning the crown for the boys' wrestling-match, and Ptolichus of Aegina made his statue Ptolichus was a pupil of his father Synnoon, and he of Aristocles the Sicyonian, a brother of Canachus and almost as famous an artist. Why Theognetus carries a cone of the cultivated pine and a pomegranate I could not conjecture, perhaps some of the Aeginetans may have a local story about it After the statue of the man who the Eleians say had not his name recorded with the others because he was proclaimed winner of the trotting-race, stand Xenocles of Maenalus, who overthrew the boys at wrestling, and Alcetus, son of Alcinous, victor in the

<sup>1</sup> See Book VII chap xxvii § 5.

παῖδας, Ἀρκὰς καὶ οὗτος ἐκ Κλείτορος· καὶ τοῦ  
 μὲν Κλέων, Ξενοκλέους δὲ τὸν ἀνδριάντα Πολύ-  
 3 κλειτός ἐστιν εἰργασμένος. Ἀριστεὺς δὲ Ἀργεῖος  
 δολίχου μὲν νίκην ἔσχεν αὐτός, πάλης δὲ ὁ πατήρ  
 τοῦ Ἀριστεύς Χείμων ἐστήκασι μὲν δὴ ἐγγὺς  
 ἀλλήλων, ἐποίησε δὲ τὸν μὲν Παντίας Χίος παρὰ  
 τῷ πατρὶ δεδιδαγμένος Σωστράτῳ, αἱ δὲ εἰκόνες  
 τοῦ Χείμωνος ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν δοκι-  
 μωτάτων Ναυκύδους, ἥ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἡ  
 ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Εἰρήνης τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κομισθεῖσα  
 ἐξ Ἀργους. λέγεται δὲ ὡς Ταυροσθένην κατα-  
 παλαίσειεν ὁ Χείμων τὸν Αἰγινήτην καὶ ὡς  
 Ταυροσθένης τῇ ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ ἐφεξῆς καταβάλῃ  
 τοὺς ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὴν πάλην καὶ ὡς εἰκόδς  
 Ταυροσθένι φάσμα ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν  
 4 Αἰγίῃ φανὲν ἀπαγγεῖλειε τὴν νίκην. Φίλλην  
 δὲ Ἥλειον κρατήσαντα παῖδας πάλη Σπαρτιάτης  
 Κρατῖνος ἐποίησε.

Τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἄρμα τὸ Γέλωνος οὐ κατὰ ταῦτὰ  
 δοξάζειν ἐμοί τε παρίστατο καὶ τοῖς πρότερον  
 ἢ ἐγὼ τὰ ἐς αὐτὸ εἰρηκόσιν, οὐ Γέλωνος τοῦ ἐν  
 Σικελίᾳ τυραννήσαντός φασιν ἀνάθημα εἶναι τὸ  
 ἄρμα. ἐπίγραμμα μὲν δὴ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ Γέλωνα  
 Δεινομένους ἀναθεῖναι Γελῶν, καὶ ὁ χρόνος  
 τούτῳ τῷ Γέλωϊ ἐστὶ τῆς νίκης τρίτη πρὸς τὰς  
 5 ἐβδομήκοντα ὀλυμπιάδας. Γέλων δὲ ὁ Σικελίας  
 τυραννήσας Συρακούσας ἔσχεν Ὑβριλίδου μὲν  
 Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τῆς δευτέρας  
 καὶ ἐβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν Τισικράτης  
 ἐνίκα Κροτωνιάτης στάδιον. δῆλα οὖν ὡς Συρα-  
 κούσιον ἤδη καὶ οὐ Γελῶν ἀναγορεύειν αὐτὸν  
 ἔμελλεν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἰδιώτης εἶη ἄν τις ὁ Γέλων



boys' boxing-match, who also was an Arcadian from Cleitor. Cleon made the statue of Alcetus; that of Xenocles is by Polycleitus. Aristeus of Aigos himself won a victory in the long-race, while his father Cheimon won the wrestling-match. They stand near to each other, the statue of Aristeus being by Pantias of Chios, the pupil of his father Sostiatus. Besides the statue of Cheimon at Olympia there is another in the temple of Peace at Rome, brought there from Argos. Both are in my opinion among the most glorious works of Naucydes. It is also told how Cheimon overthrew at wrestling Taurosthenes of Aegina, how Taurosthenes at the next Festival overthrew all who entered for the wrestling-match, and how a wrath like Taurosthenes appeared on that day in Aegina and announced the victory. The statue of Philles of Elis, who won the boys' wrestling-match, was made by the Spartan Ciatinus.

As regards the chariot of Gelon, I did not come to the same opinion about it as my predecessors, who hold that the chariot is an offering of the Gelon who became tyrant in Sicily. Now there is an inscription on the chariot that it was dedicated by Gelon of Gela, son of Deinomenes, and the date of the victory of this Gelon is the seventy-third Festival. But the <sup>488 B.C.</sup> Gelon who was tyrant of Sicily took possession of Syracuse when Hybrilides was archon at Athens, in the second year of the seventy-second Olympiad, <sup>491 B.C.</sup> when Tisicrates of Croton won the foot-race. Plainly, therefore, he would have announced himself as of Syracuse, not Gela. The fact is that this Gelon must be a private person, of the same name

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οὗτος, πατρός τε ὁμωνύμου τῷ τυράννῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁμώνυμος. Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης τό τε ἄρμα καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Γέλωνι ἐποίησε τὴν εἰκόνα.

- 6 Τῇ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Κλεομήδην φασὶν Ἀστυपालαιέα ὡς Ἴκκῳ πυκτεύων ἀνδρὶ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ τὸν Ἴκκον ἀποκτείνειν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, καταγνωσθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν ἄδικα εἰργάσθαι καὶ ἀφηρημένος τὴν νίκην ἔκφρων ἐγένετο ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἀνέστρεψε μὲν ἐς Ἀστυπάλαιαν, διδασκαλείῳ δ' ἐπιστὰς ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐξήκοντα ἀριθμὸν παίδων ἀνατρέπει τὸν  
7 κίονα ὃς τὸν ὄροφον ἀνεῖχεν. ἐμπεσόντος δὲ τοῦ ὀρόφου τοῖς παισὶ, καταλιθούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν κατέφυγεν ἐς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν· ἐσβάντος δὲ ἐς κιβωτὸν κειμένην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐφελκυσμένου τὸ ἐπίθημα, κάματος ἐς ἀνωφελὲς οἱ Ἀστυपालαιεῖς ἔκαμνον ἀνοίγειν τὴν κιβωτὸν πειρώμενοι· τέλος δὲ τὰ ξύλα τῆς κιβωτοῦ καταρρήξαντες, ὡς οὔτε ζῶντα Κλεομήδην οὔτε τεθνεῶτα εὔρισκον, ἀποστέλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐρησομένους ὅποια ἐς Κλεομήδην τὰ  
8 συμβάντα ἦν. τούτοις χρῆσαι τὴν Πυθίαν φασίν.

ῥστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυपालαιεὺς,  
ὃν θυσίαις τιμᾶ<θ' ᾗ>τε<sup>1</sup> μηκέτι θνητὸν εἶντα.

- Κλεομήδει μὲν οὖν Ἀστυपालαιεῖς ἀπὸ τούτου  
9 τιμὰς ὡς ἥρωι νέμουςι· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Γέλωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνάκειται Φίλων, τέχνη τοῦ Αἰγινήτου

<sup>1</sup> The letters in brackets are not in the MSS, but were added by Porson.

## ELIS II, ix. 5-9

as the tyrant, whose father had the same name as the tyrant's father. It was Glaucias of Aegina who made both the chariot and the portrait-statue of Gelon.

At the Festival previous to this it is said that Cleomedes of Astypalaea killed Iccus of Epidaurus during a boxing-match. On being convicted by the umpires of foul play and being deprived of the prize he became mad through grief and returned to Astypalaea. Attacking a school there of about sixty children he pulled down the pillar which held up the roof. This fell upon the children, and Cleomedes, pelted with stones by the citizens, took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena. He entered a chest standing in the sanctuary and drew down the lid. The Astypalaeans toiled in vain in their attempts to open the chest. At last, however, they broke open the boards of the chest, but found no Cleomedes, either alive or dead. So they sent envoys to Delphi to ask what had happened to Cleomedes. The response given by the Pythian priestess was, they say, as follows:—

Last of heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaea;

Honour him with sacrifices as being no longer  
a mortal.

So from this time have the Astypalaeans paid honours to Cleomedes as to a hero. By the side of the chariot of Gelon is dedicated a statue of Philon, the work of the Aeginetan Glaucias. About this Philon

Γλαυκίου. τούτῳ τῷ Φίλωνι Σιμωνίδης ὁ Λεω-  
πρέπους ἐλεγείον δεξιότατον ἐποίησε·

πατρίς μὲν Κόρκυρα, Φίλων δ' ὄνομ'· εἰμὶ δὲ  
Γλαύκου

υἱὸς καὶ νικῶ πύξ δὺ' Ὀλυμπιάδας.

ἀνάκειται καὶ Μαντινεὺς Ἀγαμήτωρ, κρατήσας  
πυγμῇ παῖδας.

Χ' Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις ἔστηκεν ὁ  
Καρύστιος Γλαῦκος· εἶναι δέ φασιν ἐξ Ἀνθη-  
δόinos τῆς Βοιωτῶν τὸ ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν γένος ἀπὸ  
Γλαύκου τοῦ ἐν θαλάσῃ δαίμονος. πατρὸς δὲ  
οὗτος ὁ Καρύστιος ἦν Δημύλου, καὶ γῆν φασιν  
αὐτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐργάζεσθαι· ἐκπεσοῦσαν δὲ  
ἐκ τοῦ ἀρότρου τὴν ὕνιν πρὸς τὸ ἄροτρον  
καθήρμοσε τῇ χειρὶ ἀντὶ σφύρας χρώμενος,  
2 καὶ πῶς ἐθεάσατο ὁ Δημύλος τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς  
ποιούμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πυκτεύσοντα ἐς  
Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸν ἀνήγαγεν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γλαῦκος  
ἄτε οὐκ ἐμπείρως ἔχων τῆς μάχης ἐπιτρώσκετο  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιζομένων, καὶ ἡνίκα πρὸς τὸν  
λειπόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπύκτευσεν, ἀπαγορεύειν  
ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν τραυμάτων ἐνομίζετο· καὶ οἱ  
τὸν πατέρα βοῆσαι φασιν “ὦ παῖ, τὴν ἀπ'  
ἀρότρου.” οὕτω γε δὴ βιαιοτέραν ἐς τὸν  
ἀνταγωνιζόμενον ἐνεγκὼν τὴν πληγὴν αὐτίκα  
3 εἶχε τὴν νίκην. στεφάνους δὲ λέγεται καὶ  
ἄλλους Πύθια μὲν δις λαβεῖν, Νεμείων δὲ καὶ  
Ἰσθμίων ὀκτάκις ἐν ἑκατέρῳ ἀγῶνι. τοῦ Γλαύ-  
κου δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκε μὲν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ,  
Γλαυκίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε· σκιαμαχοῦντος  
δὲ ὁ ἀνδριάς παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὅτι ὁ Γλαῦκος

## ELIS II, ix. 9-x 3

Simonides the son of Leopiepes composed a very neat elegiac couplet —

My fatherland is Corcyra, and my name is  
Philon, I am

The son of Glaucus, and I won two Olympic  
victories for boxing

There is also a statue of Agamator of Mantinea, who beat the boys at boxing.

X Next to those that I have enumerated stands Glaucus of CaYSTUS. Legend has it that he was by birth from Anthedon in Boeotia, being descended from Glaucus the sea-deity. This CaYSTIAN was a son of Demylus, and they say that to begin with he worked as a farmer. The ploughshare one day fell out of the plough, and he fitted it into its place, using his hand as a hammer. Demylus happened to be a spectator of his son's performance, and thereupon brought him to Olympia to box. There Glaucus, inexperienced in boxing, was wounded by his antagonists, and when he was boxing with the last of them he was thought to be fainting from the number of his wounds. Then they say that his father called out to him, "Son, the plough touch." So he dealt his opponent a more violent blow which forthwith brought him the victory. He is said to have won other crowns besides, two at Pytho, eight at the Nemean and eight at the Isthmian games. The statue of Glaucus was set up by his son, while Glaucias of Aegina made it. The statue represents a figure sparring, as Glaucus was the best exponent

ἦν ἐπιτηδειότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χειρονομῆσαι πεφυκώς. ἀποθανόντα δὲ οἱ Καρύστιοι ταφῆναι φασιν αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ καλουμένῃ Γλαύκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι.

- 4 Δαμαρέτῳ δὲ Ἡραιεὶ νύμφῃ τε τοῦ Δαμαρέτου καὶ νύμφῃ δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ γεγύνασιν ἐκάστω νύκαι, Δαμαρέτῳ μὲν πέμπτῃ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι, ὅτε ἐνομίσθη πρῶτον ὁ τοῦ ὀπλίτου δρόμος, καὶ ὡσαύτως τῇ ἐφεξῆς—πεποιήται ὁ ἀνδριᾶς ἀσπίδα τε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἔχων τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῶν καὶ κράνος ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ κνημίδας ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶ· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ τε Ἡλείων καὶ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἄλλων ἀφῆ-  
 5 ρέθη τοῦ δρόμου—, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ Δαμαρέτου καὶ αὐθις ἐκείνου παιδὶ ὁμωνύμῳ τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> πεντάθλῳ, Θεοπόμπῳ δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ πάλης  
 6 ἐγένοντο αἱ νύκαι. τὴν δὲ εἰκόνα Θεοπόμπου μὲν τοῦ παλαίσαντος τὸν ποιήσαντα οὐκ ἴσμεν, τὰς δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ πάππου φησὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα Εὐτελίδας τε εἶναι καὶ Χρυσόθεμιδος Ἀργείων· οὐ μὲν παρ' ὅτῳ γε ἐδιδάχθησαν δεδήλωκεν, ἔχει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως·

Εὐτελίδας καὶ Χρυσόθεμις τάδε ἔργα τέλεσαν  
 Ἀργεῖοι, τέχνην εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων.

- Ἴκκος δὲ ὁ Νικολαΐδα Ταραντῖνος τὸν τε Ὀλυμπικὸν στέφανον ἔσχεν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ καὶ ὕστερον γυμναστῆς ἄριστος λέγεται τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι· μετὰ δὲ Ἴκκον καταπαλαίσας  
 6 παῖδας Παντάρκης ἔστηκεν Ἡλείος ὁ ἐρώμενος

<sup>1</sup> τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ added by Schubart.

of the art of all his contemporaries. When he died the Carystians, they say, buried him in the island still called the island of Glaucus.

Damaretus of Heiaea, his son and his grandson, each won two victories at Olympia. Those of Damaretus were gained at the sixty-fifth Festival <sup>520 B C</sup> (at which the race in full armour was instituted) and also at the one succeeding. His statue shows him, not only carrying the shield that modern competitors have, but also wearing a helmet on his head and greaves on his legs. In course of time the helmet and greaves were taken from the armour of competitors by both the Eleans and the Greeks generally. Theopompus, son of Damaretus, won his victories in the pentathlon, and his son Theopompus the second, named after his father, won his in the wrestling-match. Who made the statue of Theopompus the wrestler we do not know, but those of his father and grandfather are said by the inscription to be by Eutelidas and Chrysothemis, who were Argives. It does not, however, declare the name of their teacher, but runs as follows. —

Eutelidas and Chrysothemis made these works,

Argives, who learnt their art from those who  
lived before

Iccus the son of Nicolaïdas of Tarentum won the Olympic crown in the pentathlon, and afterwards is said to have become the best trainer of his day. After Iccus stands Pantarces the Elean,

Φειδίου. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Παντάρκει Κλεοσθένους  
 ἐστὶν ἄρμα ἀνδρὸς Ἐπιδαμνίου· τοῦτο ἔργον  
 μὲν ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα, ἔστηκε δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ  
 Διὸς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν  
 ἀνατεθέντος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. ἐνίκα μὲν δὴ τὴν  
 ἔκτην Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ ἑξηκοστὴν ὃ Κλεοσθένης,  
 ἀνέθηκε δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ τε εἰκόνα  
 7 καὶ τὸν ἡνίοχον. ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἵππων τὰ ὀνόματα Φοῖνιξ καὶ Κόραξ, ἐκατέ-  
 ρωθεν δὲ οἱ παρὰ τὸ ζυγόν, κατὰ μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ  
 Κνακίας, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Σάμος καὶ ἐλεγεῖον  
 τόδε ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι·

Κλεοσθένης μ' ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Πόντιος ἐξ Ἐπι-  
 δάμνου,  
 νικήσας ἵπποις καλὸν ἀγῶνα Διός.

8 τῶν δὲ ἵπποτροφησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησι πρῶτος ἐς  
 Ὀλυμπίαν εἰκόνα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Κλεοσθένης οὗτος.  
 τὰ γὰρ Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου καὶ Εὐαγόρου  
 τοῦ Λάκωνος ἀναθήματα, τοῦ μὲν ἄρματά ἐστιν,  
 οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν Εὐαγόρας·  
 τὰ Μιλτιάδου δέ, ὅποια ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθηκεν,  
 ἐτέρωθι δὴ δηλώσω τοῦ λόγου. Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ  
 χώραν μὲν ἤνπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, πόλιν δὲ οὐ τὴν  
 ἀρχαίαν ἐπὶ ἡμῶν ἔχουσιν, ἐκείνης δὲ ἀφεστη-  
 κυῖαν ὀλίγον· ὄνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει τῇ νῦν Δυρρά-  
 χιον ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ.

9 Λυκῖνον δὲ Ἡραιέα καὶ Ἐπικράδιον Μαντινέα  
 καὶ Τέλλωνα Ὀρεσθάσιον καὶ Ἥλειον Ἀγιάδαν  
 ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένους νίκας, Λυκῖνον μὲν δρό-  
 μου, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατειλεγμένους πυγμῆς,



beloved of Pheidias, who beat the boys at wrestling. Next to Pantaices is the chariot of Cleosthenes, a man of Epidamnus. This is the work of Ageladas, and it stands behind the Zeus dedicated by the Greeks from the spoil of the battle of Plataea. Cleosthenes' victory occurred at the sixty-sixth Festival, and together with the statues of his horses he dedicated a statue of himself and one of his charioteer. There are inscribed the names of the horses, Phoenix and Corax, and on either side are the horses by the yoke, on the right Cnacias, on the left Samus. This inscription in elegiac verse is on the chariot —

Cleosthenes, son of Pontis, a native of Epidamnus,  
dedicated me

After winning with his horses a victory in the  
glorious games of Zeus

This Cleosthenes was the first of those who bred horses in Greece to dedicate his statue at Olympia. For the offering of Evagoras the Laconian consists of the chariot without a figure of Evagoras himself; the offerings of Miltiades the Athenian, which he dedicated at Olympia, I will describe in another part of my story<sup>1</sup>. The Epidamnians occupy the same territory to-day as they did at first, but the modern city is not the ancient one, being at a short distance from it. The modern city is called Dyrrhachium from its founder.

Lycinus of Heraea, Epicratus of Mantinea, Temon of Oresthas, and Agiadus of Elis won victories in boys' matches; Lycinus for running, the rest of them for boxing. The artist who made the statue

<sup>1</sup> See Chap. XIX § 6 of this book.

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Ἐπικράδιον μὲν καὶ Ἀγιάδαν, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Πτόλιχος Αἰγινήτης ἐποίησε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγιάδαν Σήραμβος, γένος καὶ οὗτος Αἰγινήτης· Λυκίνου δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνδριὰς Κλέωνος τέχνη τὸν δὲ Τέλωνα ὅστις εἰργάσατο, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν.

XI. Ἐφεξῆς τούτων ἀναθήματά ἐστιν Ἡλείων, Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου καὶ Σέλευκός τε καὶ Ἀντίγονος· τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἐφ' ἵππων, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ πεζός ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν.

- 2 Τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν εἰρημένων ἔστηκεν οὐ πόρρω Θεαγένης ὁ Τιμοσθένους Θάσιος· Θάσιοι δὲ οὐ Τιμοσθένους παῖδα εἶναι Θεαγένην φασίν, ἀλλὰ ἱεῖσθαι μὲν Ἡρακλεῖ τὸν Τιμοσθένην Θασίῳ, τοῦ Θεαγένους δὲ τῇ μητρὶ Ἡρακλέους συγγενέσθαι φάσμα ἐοικὸς Τιμοσθένει. ἑνατὸν τε δὴ ἔτος εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν διδασκάλων φασίν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐρχόμενον ἄγαλμα ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ χαλκοῦν—χαίρειν γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματι αὐτόν—, ἀνασπύσαι τε δὴ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον
- 3 τῶν ὤμων ἀναθέμενον ἐνεγκεῖν παρ' αὐτόν. ἐχόντων δὲ ὄργην εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀνὴρ τις αὐτῶν δόκιμος καὶ ἡλικία προήκων ἀποκτείνει μὲν σφᾶς τὸν παῖδα οὐκ ἐᾷ, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐθις κομίσαι τὸ ἄγαλμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ὥς δὲ ἤνεγκε, μέγα αὐτίκα ἦν κλέος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ ἰσχύϊ, καὶ τὸ ἔργον
- 4 ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐβεβόητο τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἔργων τῶν Θεαγένους εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤκει τὸν Ὀλυμπικόν, προεδήλωσεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι τὰ δοκιμώτατα ἐξ αὐτῶν, Εὐθυμόν τε ὡς κατε-

of Epiciadius was Ptolichus of Aegina, that of Agiadas was made by Seiambus, also a native of Aegina. The statue of Lycinus is the work of Cleon. Who made the statue of Tellon is not related.

XI Next to these are offerings of Eleans, representing Philip the son of Amyntas, Alexander the son of Philip, Seleucus and Antigonus. Antigonus is on foot, the rest are on horseback.

Not far from the kings mentioned stands a Thasian, Theagenes the son of Timosthenes. The Thasians say that Timosthenes was not the father of Theagenes, but a priest of the Thasian Heracles, a phantom of whom in the likeness of Timosthenes had intercourse with the mother of Theagenes. In his ninth year, they say, as he was going home from school, he was attracted by a bronze image of some god or other in the market-place; so he caught up the image, placed it on one of his shoulders and carried it home. The citizens were enraged at what he had done, but one of them, a respected man of advanced years, bade them not to kill the lad, and ordered him to carry the image from his home back again to the market-place. This he did, and at once became famous for his strength, his feat being noised abroad throughout Greece. The achievements of Theagenes at the Olympian games have already—the most famous of them—been described<sup>1</sup> in my story, how he beat Euthymus the boxer, and how he was fined by the

<sup>1</sup> Chap vi § 5 of this book

- μαχέσατο τὸν πύκτην καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ Ἡλείων  
ἐπεβλήθη τῷ Θεαγένει ζημία. τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦ  
παγκρατίου τὴν νίκην ἀνὴρ ἐκ Μαντινείας  
Δρομεὺς ὄνομα πρῶτος ὧν ἴσμεν ἀκονιτὶ λέγεται  
λαβεῖν· τὴν δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
5 παγκρατιάζων ὁ Θεαγένης ἐκράτει. γεγόνασι  
δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθοὶ νίκαι τρεῖς, αὗται μὲν ἐπὶ  
πυγμῇ, Νεμείων δὲ ἐννέα καὶ Ἰσθμίων δέκα  
παγκρατίου τε ἀναμῖξ καὶ πυγμῆς. ἐν Φθίᾳ  
δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλῶν πυγμῆς μὲν ἡ παγκρατίου  
παρῆκε τὴν σπουδὴν, ἐφρόντιζε δὲ ὅπως καὶ  
ἐπὶ δρόμῳ ἐμφανὴς ἐν Ἑλλήσιν εἴη, καὶ τοὺς  
ἐσελθόντας ἐς τὸν δόλιχον ἐκράτησεν· ἦν δὲ οἱ  
πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ φιλοτίμημα, ἐν  
πατρίδι τοῦ ὠκίστου τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων  
ἀνελέσθαι δρόμου νίκην. τοὺς δὲ σύμπαντας  
στεφάνους τετρακοσίους τε ἔσχε καὶ χιλίους.  
6 ὥς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνὴρ τῶν τις  
ἀπηχθημένων ζῶντι αὐτῷ παρεγίνετο ἀνὰ πᾶσαν  
νύκτα ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἐμασ-  
τίγου τὸν χαλκὸν ἅτε αὐτῷ Θεαγένει λυμαινό-  
μενος· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὁ ἀνδριάς ἐμπεσὼν ὕβρεως  
παύει, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δὲ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος οἱ  
παῖδες τῇ εἰκόνι ἐπεξήσαν φόνου. καὶ οἱ Θάσιοι  
καταποντοῦσι τὴν εἰκόνα ἐπακολουθήσαντες  
γνώμῃ τῇ Δράκοντος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις θεσμοὺς  
γράφας φονικὸς ὑπερώρισε καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα, εἴγε  
ἐμπεσόν τι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνειεν ἄνθρωπον.  
7 ἀνὰ χρόνον δέ, ὥς τοῖς Θασίοις οὐδένα ἀπεδίδου  
καρπὸν ἢ γῆ, θεωροὺς ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Δελφούς,  
καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς  
δεδιωγμένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ  
66

Eleans. On this occasion the pancratium, it is said, was for the first time on record won without a contest, the victor being Dromeus of Mantinea. At the Festival following this, Theagenes was the winner in the pancratium. He also won three victories at Pytho. These were for boxing, while nine prizes at Nemea and ten at the Isthmus were won in some cases for the pancratium and in others for boxing. At Phthia in Thessaly he gave up training for boxing and the pancratium. He devoted himself to winning fame among the Greeks for his running also, and beat those who entered for the long race. His ambition was, I think, to rival Achilles by winning a prize for running in the fatherland of the swiftest of those who are called heroes. The total number of crowns that he won was one thousand four hundred. When he departed this life, one of those who were his enemies while he lived came every night to the statue of Theagenes and flogged the bronze as though he were ill-treating Theagenes himself. The statue put an end to the outrage by falling on him, but the sons of the dead man prosecuted the statue for murder. So the Thasians dropped the statue to the bottom of the sea, adopting the principle of Draco, who, when he framed for the Athenians laws to deal with homicide, inflicted banishment even on lifeless things, should one of them fall and kill a man. But in course of time, when the earth yielded no crop to the Thasians, they sent envoys to Delphi, and the god instructed them to receive back the exiles. At this command they received them back, but their

καταδεχθέντες οὐδὲν τῆς ἀκαρπίας παρείχοντο  
 ἴαμα· δεύτερα οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Πυθίαν ἔρχονται,  
 λέγοντες ὡς καὶ ποιήσασιν αὐτοῖς τὰ χρησθέντα  
 8 διαμένοι τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν μῆνιμα. ἐνταῦθα  
 ἀπεκρίνατό σφισιν ἡ Πυθία

Θεαγένην δ' ἄμνηστον ἀφήκατε τὸν μέγαν  
 ὑμέων.

ἀπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁποῖα μηχανῇ τοῦ Θεα-  
 γένους τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνασώσωνται, φασὶν ἀλιέας  
 ἀναχθέντας ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ἐπὶ ἰχθύων θήραν  
 περισχεῖν τῷ δικτύῳ τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ ἀνενεγκεῖν  
 αὐθις ἐς τὴν γῆν· Θάσιοι δὲ ἀναθέντες, ἔνθα  
 καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔκειτο, νομίζουσιν ἄτε θεῷ θύειν.  
 9 πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι ἔν τε Ἑλλησιν οἶδα  
 καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις ἀγάλματα ἰδρυμένα Θεα-  
 γένους καὶ νοσήματά τε αὐτὸν ἰώμενον καὶ  
 ἔχοντα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τιμάς. ὁ δὲ ἀν-  
 δριάς τοῦ Θεαγένους ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει, τέχνη  
 τοῦ Αἰγινήτου Γλαυκίου

XII. Πλησίον δὲ ἄρμα τέ ἐστι χαλκοῦν καὶ  
 ἀνὴρ ἀναβεβηκώς ἐπ' αὐτό, κέλητες δὲ ἵπποι  
 παρὰ τὸ ἄρμα εἰς ἐκατέρωθεν ἕστηκε καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ἵππων καθέζονται παῖδες. ὑπομνήματα δὲ  
 ἐπὶ νίκαις Ὀλυμπικαῖς ἐστὶν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ  
 Δεινομένους τυραννήσαντος Συρακουσίων μετὰ  
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν Γέλωνα τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα οὐχ  
 Ἰέρων ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀποδοὺς τῷ θεῷ  
 Δεινομένης ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰέρωνος, ἔργα δὲ τὸ μὲν  
 Ὀνάτα τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τὸ ἄρμα, Καλάμιδος δὲ  
 οἱ ἵπποι τε οἱ ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν εἰσιν  
 οἱ παῖδες.

- 2 Παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὸ ἄρμα ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ οὗτος τυραννήσας, Ἰέρων δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Ἰεροκλέους· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους τοῦ πρότερον τυραννήσαντος τελευταίην Συρακουσίοις αὐτοῖς ἀναπεφύκει τύραννος ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν<sup>1</sup> ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἣν Κυρηναῖος
- 3 στάδιον ἐνίκησεν Ἰδαῖος. οὗτος ὁ Ἰέρων ξενίαν πρὸς Πύρρον τὸν Αἰακίδου καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ ξενίᾳ καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιήσατο, Γέλωνι τῷ παιδί Νηρηίδα ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Πύρρου. Ῥωμαίων δὲ περὶ Σικελίας ἐς τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον καταστάντων εἶχον μὲν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τῆς νήσου πλεον ἢ ἡμῖς, Ἰέρωνι δὲ συνιόντων μὲν ἄρτι ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐλέσθαι τὰ Καρχηδονίων ἤρεσε, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ δυνάμει τε εἶναι νομίζων τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐχυρώτερα καὶ βεβαιότερα
- 4 ἅμα ἐς φιλίαν μετεβάλετο ὥς τούτους. τοῦ δὲ οἱ βίου συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν τελευταίην ὑπὸ Δεινομένους, γένος μὲν Συρακουσίου, δυσμενέστατα δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐς τυραννίδα ἔχοντος, ὃς καὶ ὕστερον τούτων Ἰπποκράτει τῷ ἀδελφῷ τῷ Ἐπικύδους ἐξ Ἑρβησσοῦ παρεληλυθότι ἄρτι ἐς Συρακούσας καὶ ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ποιεῖσθαι λόγους ἀρχομένῳ ἐπέδραμεν ὥς ἀποκτενῶν τὸν Ἰπποκράτην· τοῦ δὲ οἱ ἀντιστάντος, κρατήσαντες τῶν δορυφόρων ἄλλοι διαφθείρουσι τὸν Δεινομένην. τοὺς ἀνδριάντας δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, ἐφ' ἵππου τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν πεζόν, ἀνέθεσαν μὲν τοῦ Ἰέρωνος οἱ παῖδες, ἐποίησε δὲ Μίκων Νικηράτου Συρακούσιος.

By the chariot of Hiero is a man of the same name as the son of Deinomenes. He too was tyrant of Syracuse, and was called Hiero the son of Hierocles. After the death of Agathocles, a former tyrant, tyranny again sprung up at Syracuse in the person of this Hiero, who came to power in the second year of the hundred and twenty-sixth Olympiad, at which Festival Idaeus of Cyrene won the foot-race. This Hiero made an alliance with Pyrrhus the son of Aeacides, sealing it by the marriage of Gelo his son and Nereis the daughter of Pyrrhus. When the Romans went to war with Carthage for the possession of Sicily, the Carthaginians held more than half the island, and Hiero sided with them at the beginning of the war. Shortly after, however, he changed over to the Romans, thinking that they were stronger, and firmer and more reliable friends. He met his end at the hands of Deinomenes, a Syracusan by birth and an inveterate enemy of tyranny, who afterwards, when Hippocrates the brother of Epicydes had just come from Erbessus to Syracuse and was beginning to harangue the multitude, rushed at him with intent to kill him. But Hippocrates withstood him, and certain of the bodyguard overpowered and slew Deinomenes. The statues of Hiero at Olympia, one on horseback and the other on foot, were dedicated by the sons of Hiero, the artist being Micon, a Syracusan, the son of Niceratus.

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<sup>1</sup> εἰχεν MSS : ἔσχεν Frazer.



# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος τὰς εἰκόνας Ἀρεὺς ὁ Ἀκροτάτου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἄρατος ἔστηκεν ὁ Κλεινίου, καὶ αὐθις ἀναβεβηκὼς ἐστὶν Ἀρεὺς ἵππον. ἀνάθημα δὲ ὁ μὲν Κορινθίων ὁ Ἄρατος, Ἀρεὺς δὲ Ἠλείων ἐστὶ καὶ μοι τοῦ
- 6 λόγου τὰ πρότερα οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἄρατον οὔτε τῶν ἐς Ἀρέα ἀμνημόνως ἔσχεν, Ἄρατος δὲ καὶ ἄρματι ἀνηγγορεύθη νικῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Τίμωνι δὲ τῷ Αἰσύπου<sup>1</sup> καθέντι ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἵππους ἀνδρὶ Ἠλείῳ \* \* ἐστὶ τοῦτο χαλκοῦν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναβέβηκε παρθένος, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Νίκη. Κάλλωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρμοδίου καὶ τὸν Μοσχίωνος Ἰππόμαχον, γένος τε Ἠλείους καὶ πυγμῇ κρατήσαντας ἐν παισί, τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐποίησε Δάιππος, Ἰππομάχου δὲ ὅστις μὲν τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰργάσατο οὐκ ἴσμεν, καταμαχέσασθαι δὲ τρεῖς φασιν ἀνταγωνιστὰς αὐτὸν οὔτε πληγὴν ἀποδεξά-
- 7 μενον οὔτε τι τρωθέντα τοῦ σώματος. Θεόχρηστον δὲ Κυρηναῖον ἵπποτροφήσαντα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον τοῖς Λίβυσι καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τὸν ὁμώνυμόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς πατέρα, τούτους μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἵππων νίκας, ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ τοῦ Θεοχρήστου λαβεῖν τὸν πατέρα, τὸ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρματι.
- 8 Ἀγήσαρχον δὲ τὸν Αἰμοστράτου Τριταιέα κρατῆσαι μὲν πύκτας ἀνδρας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐλεγείον, Ἀρκάδας δὲ τοὺς Τριταιεῖς εἶναι τοῦ ἐλεγείου λέγοντος οὐκ<sup>2</sup> ἀληθεύοντα εὗρισκον. πόλεων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ἐπειλημ-

<sup>1</sup> So Krause The MSS have Αἰγύπτου

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ is not in the MSS

## ELIS II, XII 5-8

After the likenesses of Hiero stand Aieus the Lacedaemonian king, the son of Acrotatus, and Aratus the son of Cleinias, with another statue of Aieus on horseback. The statue of Aratus was dedicated by the Corinthians, that of Aieus by the people of Elis. I have already given some account of both Aratus and Aieus,<sup>1</sup> and Aratus was also proclaimed at Olympia as victor in the chariot race. Timon, an Elean, the son of Aesypus, entered a four-horse chariot for the Olympic races. This is of bronze, and on it is mounted a maiden, who, in my opinion, is Victory. Callon the son of Harmodius and Hippomachus the son of Moschion, Elean by race, were victors in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of Callon was made by Daippus, who made that of Hippomachus I do not know, but it is said that he overcame three antagonists without receiving a blow or any physical injury. Theochrestus of Cyrene bred horses after the traditional Libyan manner, he himself and before him his paternal grandfather of the same name won victories at Olympia with the four-horse chariot, while the father of Theochrestus won a victory at the Isthmus. So declares the inscription on the chariot. The elegiac verses bear witness that Agesarchus of Tritaia, the son of Haemostratus, won the boxing-match for men at Olympia, Nemea, Pytho and the Isthmus, they also declare that the Tritaeans are Arcadians, but I found this statement to be untrue. For the founders of the Arcadian cities that attained to fame

<sup>1</sup> Book II chap. VIII § 2 foll., and III vi § 2 foll.

μέναις δόξης οὐδὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς οἰκιστάς ἐστιν  
 ἄγνωστα, τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας  
 ἀφανεστέρας καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ἀνοικισθείσας ἐς  
 Μεγάλην πόλιν, οὗ περιέχει σφᾶς γενόμενον  
 9 τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινού δόγμα; οὐδέ  
 τινα ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλησι Τρίτειαν πόλιν ἄλλην  
 γε ἢ τὴν Ἀχαιῶν εὐρεῖν. τηνικαῦτα γοῦν ἐς  
 Ἀρκάδας ἡγοίτο ἂν τις συντελέσαι τοὺς Τρι-  
 ταιεῖς, καθὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν εἰσιν  
 οἱ ἐς τὸ Ἀργολικὸν τελοῦντες. τοῦ Ἀγησάρχου  
 δὲ ἐστιν ἡ εἰκὼν τέχνη τῶν Πολυκλέους παίδων.  
 τούτων μὲν δὴ ποιησόμεθα μνήμην καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
 ὑστέροις τοῦ λόγου.

XIII. Ἀστύλος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης Πυθαγόρου  
 μὲν ἐστιν ἔργον, τρεῖς δὲ ἐφεξῆς Ὀλυμπιάσι  
 σταδίου τε καὶ διαύλου νίκας ἔσχευ. ὅτι δὲ  
 ἐν δύο ταῖς ὑστέραις ἐς χάριν τὴν Ἰέρωνος τοῦ  
 Δεινομένους ἀνηγόρευσε αὐτὸν Συρακούσιον,  
 τούτων ἔνεκα οἱ Κροτωνιάται τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ  
 δεσμωτήριον εἶναι κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα  
 καθεῖλον παρὰ τῇ Ἡρᾷ τῇ Λακινίᾳ κειμένην.  
 2 Ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ στήλη λέγουσα  
 τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Χιόνιδος τὰς νίκας. εὐηθείας  
 μὲν δὴ μετέχουσι καὶ ὅσοι Χίονιν αὐτὸν ἀνα-  
 θεῖναι τὴν στήλην, ἀλλ' οὐ Λακεδαιμονίων  
 ἡγνῆται τὸ δημόσιον· ἔστω γὰρ δήπου, ὥς ἐν  
 τῇ στήλῃ, οὐκ εἶναί πω τοῦ ὄπλου τὸν δρόμον·  
 πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐπίσταιτο ὁ Χίονις εἰ αὐθὶς ποτε  
 προσνομοθετήσουσιν Ἡλεῖοι; τούτων δὲ ἔτι ἐς  
 πλεον ἤκουσιν εὐηθείας οἱ τὸν ἐστηκότα ἀν-  
 δριάντα παρὰ τῇ στήλῃ φασὶν εἰκόνα εἶναι  
 Χιόνιδος, ἔργον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Μύρωνος.

have well-known histories ; while those that had all along been obscure because of their weakness were surely absorbed for this very reason into Megalopolis, being included in the decree then made by the Arcadian confederacy, no other city Triteia, except the one in Achaia, is to be found in Greece. However, one may assume that at the time of the inscription the Tritaeans were reckoned as Arcadians, just as nowadays too certain of the Arcadians themselves are reckoned as Argives. The statue of Agesaichus is the work of the sons of Polycles, of whom we shall give some account later on <sup>1</sup>

XIII The statue of Astylus of Crotona is the work of Pythagoras ; this athlete won three successive victories at Olympia, in the short race and in the double race. But because on the two latter occasions he proclaimed himself a Syracusan, in order to please Hiero the son of Demomenes, the people of Crotona for this condemned his house to be a prison, and pulled down his statue set up by the temple of Lacinian Hera.

There is also set up in Olympia a slab recording the victories of Chionis the Lacedaemonian. They show simplicity who have supposed that Chionis himself dedicated the slab, and not the Lacedaemonian people. Let us assume that, as the slab says, the race in armour had not yet been introduced ; how could Chionis know whether the Eleans would at some future time add it to the list of events ? But those are simpler still who say that the statue standing by the slab is a portrait of Chionis, it being the work of the Athenian Myron.

<sup>1</sup> See Book X. chap. xxxiv § 8

- 3 Ἐοικότα δὲ Χιόνιδι τὰ ἐς δόξαν καὶ ἀνὴρ  
 Λύκιος παρέσχετο Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος, ὃς τὸν  
 κότινον ἐν τρισὶν ὀλυμπιάσιν ἀνείλετο ὀκτάκις  
 ἐπὶ κλησίῳ τε ἔσχευ' Ἴππος ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων· ποιή-  
 σαι δ' ἂν καὶ Πολίτην ἐν μεγάλῳ θαύματι. ὁ  
 Πολίτης δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐκ Κεράμου τῆς ἐν τῇ  
 Καρίᾳ, ἀνέφηνε δὲ ἀρετὴν ποδῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 πᾶσαν· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ μηκίστου καὶ διαρκεστάτου δι'  
 ὀλιγίστου δὴ καιροῦ μεθηρμόσατο ἐπὶ τὸ βραχύ-  
 τατον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὤκιστον, καὶ δολίχου τε ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
 τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ παραυτίκα σταδίου λαβὼν νίκην
- 4 προσέθηκε διαύλου σφίσι τὴν τρίτην. Πολίτης  
 μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς δευτέρας . . . καὶ τέσσαρας, ὥς  
 ἂν ἕκαστοι συνταχθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλήρου, καὶ  
 οὐκ ἀθρόους ἀφιασιν ἐς τὸν δρόμον· οἱ δ' ἂν  
 ἐν ἐκάστη τάξει κρατήσωσιν, ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αὐθις  
 θέουσι τῶν ἄθλων· καὶ οὕτω σταδίου δύο ὁ  
 στεφανούμενος ἀναιρήσεται νίκας. τὰ μέντοι  
 ἐπιφανέστατα ἐς δρόμον Λεωνίδα Ῥοδίῳ ἐστίν·  
 ἐπὶ γὰρ τέσσαρας ὀλυμπιάδας ἀκμάζων τε τῇ  
 ὠκύτητι ἀντήρκεσε, καὶ γεγονάσιν αὐτῷ δρόμου  
 νῖκαι δύο ἀριθμὸν καὶ δέκα.
- 5 Χιόνιδος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στήλης  
 Σκαῖος ἔστηκεν ὁ Δούριος Σάμιος, κρατήσας  
 πυγμῇ παῖδας· τέχνη δὲ ἡ εἰκὼν ἐστὶ μὲν Ἰππίου  
 τοῦ . . . , τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ,  
 νικῆσαι Σκαῖον ἡνίκα ὁ Σαμίων δῆμος ἔφευγεν  
 ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τὸν δὲ καιρὸν . . . ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα
- 6 τὸν δῆμον. παρὰ δὲ τὸν τύραννον Δίαλλος ὁ  
 Πόλλιδος ἀνάκειται, γένος μὲν Σμυρναῖος, Ἰώνων  
 δὲ πρῶτος λαβεῖν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ φησὶν οὗτος ὁ  
 Δίαλλος παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐν παισίν. Θερσί-

Similar in renown to Chionis was Heimogenes of Xanthus, a Lydian, who won the wild olive eight times at three Olympic festivals, and was surnamed Horse by the Greeks. Polites also you will consider a great marvel. This Polites was from Ceramus in Caria, and showed at Olympia every excellence in running. For from the longest race, demanding the greatest stamina, he changed, after the shortest interval, to the shortest and quickest, and after winning a victory in the long race and immediately afterwards in the short race, he added on the same day a third victory in the double course. Polites then in the second . . . and four, as they are grouped together by lot, and they do not start them all together for the race. The victors in each heat run again for the prize. So he who is crowned in the foot-race will be victorious twice. However, the most famous runner was Leonidas of Rhodes. He maintained his speed at its prime for four Olympiads, and won twelve victories for running.

Not far from the slab of Chionis at Olympia stands Scaeus, the son of Duris, a Samian, victor in the boys' boxing-match. The statue is the work of Hippias, the son of . . . and the inscription on it states that Scaeus won his victory at the time when the people of Samos were in exile from the island, but the occasion . . . the people to their own. By the side of the tyrant is a statue of Diallus the son of Pollis, a Smyranean by descent, and this Diallus declares that he was the first Ionian to receive at Olympia a crown for the boys' pancratium. There

λοχον δὲ Κορκυραῖον καὶ Ἀριστίωνα Θεοφίλους  
 Ἐπιδαύριον, τὸν μὲν ἀνδρῶν πυγμῆς, Θερσίλοχον  
 δὲ λαβόντα ἐν παισὶ στέφανον, Πολύκλειτος  
 7 ἐποίησε σφᾶς ὁ Ἀργεῖος. Βύκελος δέ, ὃς Σικυω-  
 νίων πρῶτος πύξ ἐκράτησεν ἐν παισίν, ἔστιν  
 ἔργον Σικυωνίου Κανάχου παρὰ τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ  
 Πολυκλείτῳ διδαχθέντος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Βύκελον  
 ὀπλίτης ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ κλησιν Λίβυς Μνασέας Κυρη-  
 ναῖος ἔστηκε· Πυθαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ῥηγῖνος ἐποίησε  
 τὴν εἰκόνα. Κυζικηνῷ δὲ Ἀγεμάχῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 Ἀσιανῆς ἡπείρου . . . γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὸ  
 8 ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνηύει. Νάξου δὲ οἰκισ-  
 θείσης ποτὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ  
 Εὐρίπῳ, τῆς πόλεως μὲν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἐλείπετο  
 ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, ὄνομα δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα εἶναι  
 τῆς Νάξου Τίσανδρος ὁ Κλεοκρίτου μάλιστα  
 αἰτίαν ἔχέτω· τετράκις γὰρ δὴ ἐν ἀνδράσι κατε-  
 μαχέσατο ὁ Τίσανδρος πύκτας ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ,  
 τοσαῦται δὲ καὶ Πυθοῖ γεγονάσιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι,  
 Κορινθίοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν πω τηνικαῦτα οὐδὲ Ἀργείοις  
 ἐς ἅπαντας ὑπομνήματα τοὺς Νέμεια καὶ Ἰσθμία  
 νικήσαντας.

9 Ἡ δὲ ἵππος ἡ τοῦ Κορινθίου Φειδώλα ὄνομα  
 μὲν, ὥς οἱ Κορίνθιοι μνημονεύουσιν, ἔχει Αὔρα,  
 τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ δρόμου συνέ-  
 πεσεν ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτήν· καὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν  
 θέουσα ἐν κόσμῳ περὶ τε τὴν νύσσαν ἐπέστρεψε,  
 καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἤκουσεν, ἐπετάχυνεν ἐς  
 πλεόν τὸν δρόμον, φθάνει τε δὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλανο-  
 δίκας ἀφικομένη καὶ νικῶσα ἔγνω καὶ παύεται  
 τοῦ δρόμου. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 νίκῃ τὸν Φειδώλαν καὶ ἀναθεῖναί οἱ τὴν ἵππον  
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are statues of Thersilochus of Corcyra and of Aristion of Epidaurus, the son of Theophiles, made by Polycleitus the Argive; Aristion won a crown for the men's boxing, Thersilochus for the boys'. Bycelus, the first Sicyonian to win the boys' boxing-match, had his statue made by Canachus of Sicyon, a pupil of the Argive Polycleitus. By the side of Bycelus stands the statue of a man-at-arms, Mnaseas of Cyrene, surnamed the Libyan, Pythagoras of Rhegium made the statue To Agemachus of Cyzicus from the mainland of Asia the inscription on it shows that he was born at Aigos. Naxos was founded in Sicily by the Chalcidians on the Euripus. Of the city not even the ruins are now to be seen, and that the name of Naxos has survived to after ages must be attributed to Tisander, the son of Cleocritus. He won the men's boxing-match at Olympia four times; he had the same number of victories at Pytho, but at this time neither the Corinthians nor the Argives kept complete records of the victors at Nemea and the Isthmus.

The mare of the Corinthian Pheidolas was called, the Corinthians relate, Aura (*breeze*), and at the beginning of the race she chanced to throw her rider. But nevertheless she went on running properly, turned round the post, and, when she heard the trumpet, quickened her pace, reached the umpires first, realised that she had won and stopped running. The Eleans proclaimed Pheidolas the winner and allowed him to dedicate a statue of this



## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- 10 ταύτην ἐφίᾱσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Φειδώλα τοῖς παισὶν ἐπὶ κέλῃτι ἵππῳ νίκη, καὶ ὃ τε ἵππος ἐπὶ στήλῃ πεποιημένος καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ·

ὠκυδρόμας Λύκος Ἴσθμ' ἄπαξ, δύο δ' ἐνθάδε  
νίκαις

Φειδώλα παίδων ἐστεφάνωσε δόμους

- οὐ μὴν τῷ γε ἐπιγράμματι καὶ τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας ὁμολογεῖ γράμματα· ὁγδόῃ γὰρ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ ἐξηκοστῇ καὶ οὐ πέρα ταύτης ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασιν ἡ νίκη τῶν Φειδώλα παίδων· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔχοντα  
11 ἴστω τις· Ἡλείοις δὲ ἀνδράσιν Ἀγαθίνῳ τε τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ Τηλεμάχῳ, Τηλεμάχῳ μὲν ἐπὶ ἵππων νίκη γέγονεν ἡ εἰκὼν, Ἀγαθίνον δὲ ἀνέθεσαν Ἀχαιοὶ Πελληνεῖς. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος Ἀριστοφῶντα Λυσίου, παγκρατιαστὰς ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κρατήσαντα ἄνδρας.

- XIV. Φερίας δὲ Αἰγινήτης—οὗτος γὰρ δὴ παρὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστοφῶντα ἀνάκειται—ὁγδόῃ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς ἐβδομήκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι κομιδῇ τε ἔδοξεν εἶναι νέος καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδειός πω νομισθεὶς παλαίειν ἀπηλάθῃ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς—κατεδέχθη γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐς τοὺς παῖδας—ἐνίκα παλαίων. τῷ δὲ Φερίᾳ τούτῳ διάφορον καὶ οὐδαμῶς εἰκνύειν ἔσχεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τύχην  
2 Νικασύλος Ῥόδιος. ὀγδοὺν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δέκα ἔτεσι γεγονὼς μὴ παλαῖσαι μὲν ἐν παισὶν ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀπηλάθῃ, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐνίκησεν· ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ καὶ  
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mare The sons also of Pheidolas were winners in the horse-race, and the horse is represented on a slab with this inscription —

The swift Lycus by one victory at the Isthmus  
and two here

Crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas.

But the inscription is at variance with the Elean records of Olympic victors These records give a victory to the sons of Pheidolas at the sixty-eighth <sup>508 B C</sup> Festival but at no other You may take my statements as accurate There are statues to Agathinus, son of Thiasybulus, and to Telemachus, both men of Elis Telemachus won the race for four-horse chariots, the statue of Agathinus was dedicated by the Achaeans of Pellene The Athenian people dedicated a statue of Aristophon, the son of Lysinus, who won the men's pancratium at Olympia

XIV Pherias of Aegina, whose statue stands by the side of Aristophon the Athenian, at the seventy- <sup>468 B C</sup> eighth Festival was considered very young, and, being judged to be as yet unfit to wrestle, was debaired from the contest But at the next Festival he was admitted to the boys' wrestling-match and won it. What happened to this Pherias was different, in fact the exact opposite of what happened at Olympia to Nicasylus of Rhodes Being eighteen years of age he was not allowed by the Eleans to compete in the boys' wrestling-match, but won the men's match and was proclaimed victor He was

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- ὕστερον Νεμέα τε καὶ Ἴσθμῳ. γεγονότα δὲ εἰκοσαετῇ τὸ χρεὼν ἐπιλαμβάνει, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτὸν οἴκαδε ἀναστρέψαι. τὸ δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦ Ῥοδίου παλαιστοῦ τόλμημα Ἀρτεμίδωρος γένος Τραλλιανὸς ὑπερεβάλετο κατὰ ἐμὴν δόξαν. Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ γὰρ ἀμαρτεῖν μὲν Ὀλυμπίων συνέβη παγκρατιάζοντι ἐν παισίν, αἰτία δέ οἱ ἐγένετο τῆς διαμαρτίας τὸ ἄγαν νέον· ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἀγῶνος καιρὸς ὃν Σμυρναῖοι Ἰώνων ἄγουσιν, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἄρα αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ῥώμης ἐπηύξητο ὥς κρατῆσαι παγκρατιάζοντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς τούς τε ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἀνταγωνιστὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παισίν οὓς ἀγενεῖους καλοῦσι καὶ τρίτα δὴ ὃ τι ἄριστον ἦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. γενέσθαι δέ οἱ τὴν ἄμιλλαν πρὸς ἀγενεῖους τε καὶ ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐκ γυμναστοῦ παρακλήσεως φασι, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς παγκρατιαστοῦ λαιδορίας. ἀνείλετο δὲ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην δευτέρα καὶ
- 4 δεκάτῃ πρὸς διακοσίαις Ὀλυμπιάδι. Νικασύλου δὲ τῆς εἰκόνος ἵππος τε οὐ μέγας ἔχεται χαλκοῦς, ὃν Κρόκων Ἐρετριεὺς ἀνέθηκεν ἀνελόμενός κέλητι ἵππῳ στέφανον, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ ἵππου Τελέστας ἐστὶ Μεσσήνιος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παῖδας· Σιλανίωνος δὲ ἔργον ἐστὶν ὁ Τελέστας.
- 5 Μίλωνα δὲ τὸν Διοτίμου πεποίηκε μὲν Δαμέας ἐκ Κρότωνος καὶ οὗτος· ἐγένοντο δὲ τῷ Μίλῳ ἐξ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πάλης νῖκαι, μία δὲ ἐν παισίν ἐξ αὐτῶν, Πυθοῖ δὲ ἓν τε ἀνδράσιν ἐξ καὶ μία ἐνταῦθα ἐν παισίν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ ἔβδομον παλαίσων ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγένετο οἶός τε καταπαλαῖσαι Τιμασίθεον

afterwards proclaimed victor at Nemea also and at the Isthmus. But when he was twenty years old he met his death before he returned home to Rhodes. The feat of the Rhodian wrestler at Olympia was in my opinion surpassed by Artemidorus of Tralles. He failed in the boys' pancratium at Olympia, the reason of his failure being his extreme youth. When, however, the time arrived for the contest held by the Ionians of Smyrna, his strength had so increased that he beat in the pancratium on the same day those who had competed with him at Olympia, after the boys the beardless youths as they are called, and thirdly the pick of the men. His match with the beardless youths was the outcome, they say, of a trainer's encouragement, he fought the men because of the insult of a man pancratiast. Artemidorus won an Olympic victory among the men at the two hundred and twelfth Festival. Next to the statue of <sup>68 A D</sup> Nicasylus is a small bronze horse, which Crocon of Eretria dedicated when he won a crown with a race-horse. Near the horse is Telestas of Messene, who won the boys' boxing-match. The artist who represented Telestas was Silamon.

The statue of Milo the son of Diotimus was made by Dameas, also a native of Crotona. Milo won six victories for wrestling at Olympia, one of them among the boys, at Pytho he won six among the men and one among the boys. He came to Olympia to wrestle for the seventh time, but did not succeed in mastering Timasitheus, a fellow-citizen who was

- πολίτην τε ὄντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἡλικία νέον, πρὸς  
 6 δὲ καὶ σύνεγγυς οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἴστασθαι. λέ-  
 γεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐσκομίσειεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν  
 ἀνδριάντα ἐς τὴν Ἑλτικὴν ὁ Μίλων, λέγεται δὲ  
 ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ ῥοιᾷ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 δίσκῳ· ῥοιὰν μὲν δὴ οὕτω κατεῖχεν ὥς μήτε ἄλλῳ  
 παρῆναι βιαζομένῳ μήτε αὐτὸς λυμῆνασθαι  
 πιέζων, ἰστάμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ἀληλιμμένῳ τῷ δίσκῳ  
 γέλωτα ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντάς τε καὶ  
 ὠθοῦντας ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου. παρείχετο δὲ καὶ  
 7 ἄλλα τοιάδε ἐς ἐπίδειξιν. περιέδει τῷ μετώπῳ  
 χορδὴν κατὰ ταῦτά δὴ καὶ εἰ ταινίαν περιθεῖτο  
 ἢ στέφανον· κατέχων δὲ ἐντὸς χειλῶν τὸ ἄσθμα  
 καὶ ἐμπιπλὰς αἵματος τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ φλέβας,  
 διερρήγνυεν ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τῶν φλεβῶν τὴν χορδὴν.  
 λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς τὸ μὲν ἐς  
 τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου παρ' αὐτὴν καθίει τὴν  
 πλευράν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκῶνος ἔτεινεν ἐς εὐθύ,  
 τῶν δακτύλων τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφων τὸν  
 ἀντίχειρα ἐς τὸ ἄνω, τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἀλλήλοις  
 ἐπικειμένων κατὰ στοίχον· τὸν ἐλάχιστον οὖν  
 τῶν δακτύλων κάτω γινόμενον οὐκ ἀπεκίνησεν  
 8 ἂν τις βιαζόμενος. ἀποθανεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ θηρίων  
 φασὶν αὐτόν· ἐπιτυχεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Κρο-  
 τωνιάτιδι αὐαινομένῳ ξύλῳ, σφῆνες δὲ ἐγκείμενοι  
 διίστασαν τὸ ξύλον· ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος ὁ  
 Μίλων καθήισι τὰς χεῖρας ἐς τὸ ξύλον, ὅλις-  
 θάνουσί τε δὴ οἱ σφῆνες καὶ ἐχόμενος ὁ Μίλων  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ ξύλου λύκοις ἐγένετο εὖρημα μάλιστα  
 δέ πως τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Κροτωνιάτιδι  
 9 πολὺ τε νεμέται καὶ ἄφθονον.
- Μίλωνι μὲν δὴ τοιόνδε τέλος ἐπηκολούθησε·

also a young man, and who refused, moreover, to come to close quarters with him. It is further stated that Milo carried his own statue into the Altis. His feats with the pomegranate and the quoit are also remembered by tradition. He would grasp a pomegranate so firmly that nobody could wrest it from him by force, and yet he did not damage it by pressure. He would stand upon a greased quoit, and make fools of those who charged him and tried to push him from the quoit. He used to perform also the following exhibition feats. He would tie a cord round his forehead as though it were a ribbon or a crown. Holding his breath and filling with blood the veins on his head, he would break the cord by the strength of these veins. It is said that he would let down by his side his right arm from the shoulder to the elbow, and stretch out straight the arm below the elbow, turning the thumb upwards, while the other fingers lay in a row. In this position, then, the little finger was lowest, but nobody could bend it back by pressure. They say that he was killed by wild beasts. The story has it that he came across in the land of Crotona a tree-trunk that was drying up, wedges were inserted to keep the trunk apart. Milo in his pride thrust his hands into the trunk, the wedges slipped, and Milo was held fast by the trunk until the wolves—a beast that roves in vast packs in the land of Crotona—made him their prey.

Such was the fate that overtook Milo. Pyrrhus, the

- Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Αἰακίδου βασιλεύσαντα ἐν τῇ  
Θεσπρωτίδι ἡπεύρω καὶ ἔργα πολλὰ ἐργασάμενον  
καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, ἃ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀθηναίους  
ἐδήλωσα, τοῦτον ἐς τὴν Ἄλτιν ἀνέθηκε Θρασύ-  
βουλος Ἡλείος. παρὰ δὲ τὸν Πύρρον ἀνὴρ μικρὸς  
αὐλοὺς ἔχων ἐστὶν ἐκτετυπωμένος ἐπὶ στήλῃ.  
τούτῳ Πυθικαὶ νῆκαι γεγόνασι τῷ ἀνδρὶ δευτέρῳ  
10 μετὰ Σακάδαν τὸν Ἀργεῖον. Σακάδας μὲν γὰρ  
τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τεθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀμφικτυόνων οὐκ  
ὄντα πω στεφανίτην καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ στεφανίτας  
δύο ἐνίκησε, Πυθόκριτος δὲ ὁ Σικυνώνιος τὰς  
ἐφεξῆς τούτων πυθιάδας ἕξ, μόνος δὴ οὗτος  
αὐλητής· δηλαδὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι τῷ  
'Ολυμπίασιν ἐπηύλησεν ἑξάκις<sup>1</sup> τῷ πεντάθλῳ.  
Πυθοκρίτῳ μὲν γέγονεν ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ ἐν  
'Ολυμπίᾳ στήλῃ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ,

Πυθοκρίτου

τοῦ Καλλινίκου μνᾶμα ταύλητᾶ τόδε·

- 11 ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Αἰτωλῶν Κύλωνα,  
ὃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀριστοτίμου τυραννίδος ἡλευθέρωσεν  
Ἡλείους. Γόργον δὲ τὸν Εὐκλήτου Μεσσήνιον  
ἀνελόμενον πεντάθλου νίκην καὶ Δαμάρετον καὶ  
τοῦτον Μεσσήνιον κρατήσαντα πυγμῇ παιῖδας,  
τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν Βοιωτίας Θήρων, Δαμαρέτου δὲ  
τὴν εἰκόνα Ἀθηναῖος Σιλανίων ἐποίησεν. Ἀν-  
αυχίδας δὲ ὁ Φίλνιος Ἡλείος πάλης ἔσχευ ἐν  
παισὶ στέφανον καὶ ἐν ἀνδράσιν ὕστερον· τούτῳ  
μὲν δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ὅστις ὁ εἰργασμένος ἐστὶν οὐκ  
ἴσμεν, Ἀνοχος δὲ ὁ Ἀδαμάτα Ταραντῖνος, στα-  
δίου λαβὼν καὶ διαύλου νίκην, ἐστὶν Ἀγελάδα

<sup>1</sup> Some editors would omit ἑξάκις.

son of Aeacides, who was king on the Thesprotian mainland and performed many remarkable deeds, as I have related in my account of the Athenians,<sup>1</sup> had his statue dedicated by Thrasybulus of Elis. Beside Pyrihus is a little man holding flutes, carved in relief upon a slab. This man won Pythian victories next after Sacadas of Argos. For Sacadas won in the games introduced by the Amphictyons before a crown was awarded for success, and after this victory two others for which crowns were given; but at the next six Pythian Festivals Pythocritus of Sicyon was victor, being the only flute-player so to distinguish himself. It is also clear that at the Olympic Festival he fluted six times for the pentathlon. For these reasons the slab at Olympia was erected in honour of Pythocritus, with the inscription on it:—

This is the monument of the flute-player  
Pythocritus, the son of Callinicus

The Aetolian League dedicated a statue of Cylon, who delivered the Eleans from the tyranny of Aristotimus. The statue of Gorgus, the son of Eucletus, a Messenian who won a victory in the pentathlon, was made by the Boeotian Theron; that of Damaretus, another Messenian, who won the boys' boxing-match, was made by the Athenian Silanion. Anauchidas, the son of Philys, an Elean, won a crown in the boys' wrestling-match and afterwards in the match for men. Who made his statue is not known, but Ageladas of Argos made the statue of Anochus of Tarentum, the son of Adamatas,

<sup>1</sup> Book I. chap. xi.



12 τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. παῖδα δὲ ἐφ' ἵππου καθή-  
μενον καὶ ἐστηκότα ἄνδρα παρὰ τὸν ἵππον φησὶ  
τὸ ἐπίγραμμα εἶναι Ξενόμβροτον ἐκ Κῶ τῆς  
Μεροπίδος, ἐπὶ ἵππου νίκη κεκηρυγμένον, Ξενό-  
δικον δὲ ἐπὶ πυγμῇ παίδων ἀναγορευθέντα· τὸν  
μὲν Παντίας αὐτῶν, Ξενόμβροτον δὲ Φιλότιμος  
Αἰγινῆτης ἐποίησε. Πύθου δὲ τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου,  
γένος ἀνδρὸς ἐξ Ἀβδήρων, ἐποίησε μὲν Λυσιππος,  
ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται δύο εἰκόνας· εἶναι δὲ  
ἡγεμῶν τις ξένων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως τὰ πολεμικὰ  
ἀγαθὸς ὁ Πύθης ἔοικε.

13 Κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἐν παισὶν εἰληφότες δρόμου  
νίκας Μενεπτόλεμος ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐν τῷ  
Ἰονίῳ <κόλπῳ> καὶ Κορκυραῖος Φίλων, ἐπὶ  
δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰερώνυμος Ἄνδριος, ὃς τὸν Ἥλειον  
Τισαμενὸν πενταθλοῦντα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ κατε-  
πάλαισε τὸν Ἑλλησιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐναντία  
Μαρδονίου καὶ Μήδων Πλαταιᾶσι μαντευσά-  
μενον. οὗτός τε δὴ ὁ Ἰερώνυμος ἀνάκειται καὶ  
παρ' αὐτὸν παλαιστῆς παῖς, Ἄνδριος καὶ οὗτος,  
Προκλῆς ὁ Λυκαστίδα· τοῖς πλάσταις δὲ οἱ τοὺς  
ἀνδριάντας ἐποίησαν, τῷ μὲν Στόμιός ἐστιν  
ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ τὸν Προκλέα εἰργασμένῳ Σῶμις.  
Αἰσχίνῃ δὲ Ἥλειῳ νῖκαί τε δύο ἐγένοντο πεντάθ-  
λου καὶ ἵσαι ταῖς νίκαις αἱ εἰκόνες.

XV Ἀρχίππῳ δὲ Μιτυληναίῳ τοὺς ἐς τὴν  
πυγμὴν ἐσελθόντας κρατήσαντι ἄνδρας ἄλλο  
τοιόνδε προσποιούσιν οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι ἐς δόξαν,  
ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Νεμέᾳ  
καὶ Ἰσθμῷ λάβοι στέφανον ἡλικίαν οὐ πρόσω  
γεγονὼς ἑτῶν εἴκοσι τὸν δὲ παῖδα σταδιοδρόμον  
Ξένωνα Καλλιτέλους ἐκ Λεπρέου τοῦ ἐν τῇ

who won victories in the short and double foot-race. A boy seated on a horse and a man standing by the horse the inscription declares to be Xenombrotus of Meiopean Cos, who was proclaimed victor in the horse-race, and Xenodocus, who was announced a winner in the boys' boxing-match. The statue of the latter is by Pantias, that of the former is by Philotimus the Aeginetan. The two statues of Pythes, the son of Andromachus, a native of Abdera, were made by Lysippus, and were dedicated by his soldiers. Pythes seems to have been a captain of mercenaries or some sort of distinguished soldier.

There are statues of winners of the boys' race, namely, Menepolemus of Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf and Philo of Corcyra, also Hieronymus of Andros, who defeated in the pentathlon at Olympia. Tisamenus of Elis, who afterwards served as soothsayer in the Greek army that fought against Mardonius and the Persians at Plataea. By the side of this Hieronymus is a statue of a boy wrestler, also of Andrios, Procles, the son of Lycastidas. The sculptor who made the statue of Lycastidas was named Stomius, while Somus made the statue of Procles. Aeschines of Elis won two victories in the pentathlon, and his statues are also two in number.

XV Archippus of Mitilene overcame his competitors in the men's boxing-match, and his fellow-townsmen hold that he added to his fame by winning the crown, when he was not more than twenty years old, at Olympia, at Pytho, at Nemea and at the Isthmus. The statue of the boy runner Xenon, son of Calliteles from Lepreus in Triphylia,

- Τριφυλία Πυριλάμπης Μεσσήνιος, Κλεινόμαχον  
 δὲ Ἡλείον ὅστις ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἴσμεν.  
 ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Κλεινόμαχος ἐπὶ νίκη πεντάθ-  
 2 λου. Παντάρκην δὲ Ἡλείον Ἀχαιῶν ἀνάθημα  
 εἶναι τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ φησιν· εἰρήνην  
 τε γὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς ποιῆσαι καὶ Ἡλείοις αὐτόν,  
 καὶ ὅσοι παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πολεμούντων ἐαλώ-  
 κεσαν, ἄφεσιν καὶ τούτοις γενέσθαι δι' αὐτόν.  
 οὗτος ἀνείλετο καὶ κέλητι ἵππῳ νίκην ὁ Παντάρ-  
 κης, καὶ οἱ καὶ τῆς νίκης ὑπόμνημά ἐστιν ἐν  
 Ὀλυμπία. Ὀλίδαν δὲ ἀνέθηκεν Ἡλείον τὸ  
 ἔθνος τὸ Αἰτωλῶν, Χαρίνος δὲ Ἡλείος ἐπὶ  
 διαύλου τε ἀνάκειται καὶ ὄπλου νίκη· παρὰ δὲ  
 αὐτὸν Ἀγέλης Χίος κρατήσας πυγμῇ παιῖδας,  
 Θεομνήστου Σαρδιανοῦ τέχνη.  
 3 Κλειτομάχου δὲ Θηβαίου τὴν μὲν εἰκόνα  
 ἀνέθηκεν Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ Κλειτομάχου πατήρ,  
 τὰ δὲ οἱ ἐς δόξαν ἦν τοιάδε. ἐν Ἰσθμῷ παλαισ-  
 τὰς κατεπάλαισεν ἄνδρας καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς  
 αὐτῆς τοὺς τε ἐς τὴν πυγμὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐς τὸ  
 παγκράτιον ἐσελθόντας ἐκράτει τῇ μάχῃ· αἱ δὲ  
 Πυθοὶ νῖκαι παγκρατίου μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι,  
 τρεῖς δὲ ἀριθμόν· ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπία δεύτερος ὁ  
 Κλειτόμαχος οὗτος μετὰ τὸν Θάσιον Θεαγένην  
 ἐπὶ παγκρατίῳ τε ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ πυγμῇ.  
 4 παγκρατίου μὲν οὖν μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα  
 καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάσιν ἔφθανεν ἀνῆρημένος  
 νίκην· ἡ δὲ ὀλυμπιάς ἡ ἐφεξῆς εἶχε μὲν τὸν  
 Κλειτόμαχον τοῦτον παγκρατίου καὶ πυγμῆς  
 ἀγωνιστήν, εἶχε δὲ καὶ Ἡλείον Κάπρον ἐπὶ  
 ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παλαῖσαί τε ὁμοῦ καὶ παγκρα-  
 5 τιάσαι προθυμούμενον. γεγονυίας δὲ ἤδη τῷ

was made by Pylampes the Messenian, who made the statue of Cleinomachus of Elis I do not know, but Cleinomachus was proclaimed victor in the pentathlon. The inscription on the statue of Pantarces of Elis states that it was dedicated by Achaeans, because he made peace between them and the Eleans, and procured the release of those who had been made prisoners by both sides during the war. This Pantarces also won a victory with a race-horse, and there is a memorial of his victory also at Olympia. The statue of Olidas, of Elis, was dedicated by the Aetolian nation, and Charinus of Elis is represented in a statue dedicated for a victory in the double race and in the race in armour. By his side is Ageles of Chios, victorious in the boys' boxing-match, the artist being Theomnestus of Sardes.

The statue of Cleitomachus of Thebes was dedicated by his father Hermocrates, and his famous deeds are these. At the Isthmus he won the men's wrestling-match, and on the same day he overcame all competitors in the boxing-match and in the pancratium. His victories at Pytho were all in the pancratium, three in number. At Olympia this Cleitomachus was the first after Theagenes of Thasos to be proclaimed victor in both boxing and the pancratium. He won his victory in the pancratium at the hundred and forty-first Olympic Festival. The next Festival saw this Cleitomachus a competitor in the pancratium and in boxing, while Caprus of Elis was minded both to wrestle and to compete in the pancratium on the same day. After Caprus had

Κάπρῳ νίκης ἐπὶ τῇ πάλῃ, ἀνεδίδασκεν ὁ Κλειτόμαχος τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας γενήσεσθαι σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ σφίσιν, εἰ τὸ παγκράτιον ἐσκαλέσαιντο πρὶν ἢ πυκτεύσαντα αὐτὸν λαβεῖν τραύματα· λέγει τε δὴ εἰκότα καὶ οὕτως ἐσκληθέντος τοῦ παγκρατίου κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάπρου ὁμῶς ἐχρήσατο ἐς τοὺς πύκτας θυμῷ τε ἐρρωμένῳ καὶ ἀκμῇτι τῷ σώματι.

- 6 Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ οἱ Ἴωνες Ἐπιθέρσην τὸν Μητροδώρου, δύο μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυγμῆς, δις δὲ Πυθοῖ νίκας καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τε καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ λαβόντα, οὗτοι μὲν τὸν Ἐπιθέρσην τοῦτον, Συρακούσιοι δὲ δύο μὲν Ἰέρωνος εἰκόνας τὸ δημόσιον, τρίτην δὲ ἀνέθεσαν οἱ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος παῖδες· ἐδήλωσα δὲ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον ὡς ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ Δεινομένους ὁ Ἰέρων οὗτος καὶ Συρακουσῶν εἴη κατὰ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ τύραννος.
- 7 ἀνέθεσαν δὲ καὶ Ἥλειον ἄνδρα Τιμόπτολιν Λάμπιδος Παλεῖς, ἡ τετάρτη Κεφαλλήνων μοῖρα· οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Παλεῖς ἐκαλοῦντο Δουλιχιεῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότερα. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἀνὴρ ὅστις δὴ θηρεύοντος παρεχόμενος σχῆμα. Δημήτριον δὲ τὸν ἐλάσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀλόντα ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου τὸν παῖδα Ἀντίγονον ἀνα-
- 8 θήματα ἴστω τις Βυζαντίων ὄντας. Σπαρτιάτῃ δὲ Εὐτελίδᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐν παισὶ νίκαι δύο ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης καὶ τριακοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος πάλης, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πεντάθλου· πρῶτον γὰρ δὴ τότε οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὕστατον πενταθλήσοντες ἐσεκλήθησαν· ἔστι δὲ ἡ τε εἰκὼν ἀρχαία τοῦ Εὐτελίδᾳ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ γράμματα ἀμυδρὰ ὑπὸ

won in the wrestling-match, Cleitomachus put it to the umpires that it would be fair if they were to bring in the pancratium before he received wounds in the boxing. His request seemed reasonable, and so the pancratium was brought in. Although Cleitomachus was defeated by Caprus he tackled the boxers with sturdy spirit and unweaned vigour.

The Ionians of Erythrae dedicated a statue of Epitheises, son of Metrodorus, who won two boxing prizes at Olympia, two at Pytho, and also victories at Nemea and the Isthmus, the Syracusans dedicated two statues of Hiero at the public charge, while a third is the gift of Hiero's sons. I pointed out in a recent chapter<sup>1</sup> how this Hiero had the same name as the son of Deinomenes, and, like him, was despot of Syracuse. The Paleans, who form one of the four divisions of the Cephallenians, dedicated a statue of Timoptolis, an Elean, the son of Lampis. These Paleans were of old called Dulichians. There is also a statue set up of Archidamus the son of Agesilaus, and of some man or other representing a hunter. There is a statue of Demetrius, who made an expedition against Seleucus and was taken prisoner in the battle, and one of Antigonus the son of Demetrius; they are offerings, you may be sure, of the Byzantines. At the thirty-eighth Festival Eutelidas the Spartan <sup>628 B C</sup> won two victories among the boys, one for wrestling and one for the pentathlon, this being the first and last occasion when boys were allowed to enter for the pentathlon. The statue of Eutelidas is old, and the letters on the pedestal are worn dim with age.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xii § 2

- 9 τοῦ χρόνου. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Εὐτελίδαν Ἀρεὺς τε αὖθις ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἥλειος παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνάκειται Γόργος. μόνῳ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἄχρι ἐμοῦ τῷ Γόργῳ τέσσαρες μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ γεγόνασιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, διαύλου δὲ καὶ ὄπλου μία ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ νίκη
- 10 "Ὅτῳ δὲ παρεστήκασιν οἱ παῖδες, τοῦτον μὲν Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου φασὶν εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνδριάντες δύο ἀνδρός εἰσιν Ἥλειου Κάπρου τοῦ Πυθαγόρου, πάλης τε εἰληφότος καὶ παγκρατίου στέφανον ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς· πρῶτῳ δὲ γεγόνασιν ἀνθρώπων αἱ δύο νῖκαι τῷ Κάπρῳ τούτῳ. τὸν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ παγκρατίου καταγωνισθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· παλαίων δὲ κατέβαλεν Ἥλειον Παιά- νιον ὀλυμπιάδα πάλη τὴν προτέραν ἀνηρημένον καὶ Πύθια παίδων τε πυγμῇ καὶ αὖθις ἐν ἀνδράσι πάλη τε καὶ πυγμῇ στεφανωθέντα ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς.
- XVI. Κάπρῳ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων πόνων καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ταλαιπωρίας ἐγένοντο αἱ νῖκαι· εἰσὶ δὲ εἰκόνες ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἀναυχίδα καὶ Φερενίκῳ, γένος μὲν Ἥλείοις, πάλης δὲ ἐν παισὶν ἀνελομένοις στεφάνους. Πλείσταινον δὲ τὸν Εὐρυδάμου τοῦ ἐναντία Γαλατῶν στρατηγήσαντος Αἰτωλοῖς Θεσπιεῖς εἰσιν οἱ ἀνα-  
2 θέντες. Τυδεὺς δὲ Ἥλειος Ἀντίγονόν τε τὸν Δημητρίου πατέρα καὶ Σέλευκον ἀνέθηκε. Σελεύκου δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἤρθη τὸ ὄνομα ἀνθρώπους ἄλλων τε ἔνεκα καὶ διὰ τὴν Δημητρίου μάλιστα ἄλωσιν. Τίμωνι δὲ ἀγώνων τε νῖκαι τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησιν ὑπάρχουσιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ πλὴν τοῦ

After Eutelidas is another statue of Areus the Lacedaemonian king, and beside it is a statue of Goigus the Elean. Gorgus is the only man down to my time who has won four victories at Olympia for the pentathlum, beside a victory in the double race and a victory in the race in armour.

The man with the boys standing beside him they say is Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Beside him are two statues of the Elean Caprus, the son of Pythagoras, who received on the same day a crown for wrestling and a crown for the pancratium. This Caprus was the first man to win the two victories. His victim overcome in the pancratium I have already mentioned,<sup>1</sup> in wrestling the man he overcame was the Elean Paeanius, who at the previous Festival had won a victory for wrestling, while at the Pythian games he won a crown in the boys' boxing-match, and again in the men's wrestling-match and in the men's boxing-match on one and the same day.

XVI. The victories of Caprus were not achieved without great toils and strong effort. There are also at Olympia statues to Anauchidas and Pherenicus, Eleans by race who won crowns for wrestling among the boys. Pleistaenus, the son of the Eurydamus who commanded the Aetolians against the Gauls, had his statue dedicated by the Thespians. The statue of Antigonus the father of Demetrius and the statue of Seleucus were dedicated by Tydeus the Elean. The fame of Seleucus became great among all men especially because of the capture of Demetrius. Timon won victories for the pentathlum at all the Greek games except the Isthmian, at which he,

<sup>1</sup> Chap xv § 5.



- Ἰσθμικοῦ—τούτου δὲ μὴ ἀγωνιστῆς γενέσθαι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἑλείοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶργετο—καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα φησὶ τὸ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα, Αἰτωλοῖς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρατείας μετασχεῖν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ φρουρὰς ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ  
 3 φιλία γενέσθαι τῇ ἐς Αἰτωλοὺς. Τίμωνος δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς εἰκόνης Ἑλλάς τε δὴ καὶ Ἥλις παρὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἥ μὲν Ἀντίγονον τὸν ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Φιλίππου τοῦ Δημητρίου, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν τὸν Φίλιππον στεφανοῦσα αὐτόν, ἥ δὲ Ἥλις Δημήτριον τὸν στρατεύσαντα ἐπὶ Σέλευκον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου στεφανοῦσά ἐστιν.
- 4 Ἀριστείδη δὲ Ἑλείῳ γενέσθαι μὲν ὄπλου νίκην ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ διαύλου Πυθοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δηλοῖ Νεμείων τε ἐν παισὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἵππῳ δρόμῳ δρόμου δὲ εἰσι τοῦ ἵππου μῆκος μὲν δίαυλοι δύο, ἐκλειφθέντα δὲ ἐκ Νεμείων τε καὶ Ἰσθμίων αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς ἐς Νεμείων ἀγῶνα τῶν χειμερινῶν ἀπέδωκεν Ἀργείοις.
- 5 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστείδου ἐγγύτατα Μενάλας ἔστηκεν Ἑλείος, ἀναγορευθεὶς Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ, καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζώτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Βριμίας ἐστὶν Ἑλείος, κρατήσας ἀνδρας πυγμῇ, Λεωνίδας τε ἐκ Νάξου τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, Ψωφιδίων ἀνάθημα Ἀρκάδων, Ἀσάμωνός τε εἰκὼν ἐν ἀνδράσι πυγμῇ νενικηκότος, ἥ δὲ Νικάνδρου, διαύλου μὲν δύο ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, Νεμείων δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἀναμῖξ ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> After δὲ Schubart adds καὶ Ἰσθμίων

## ELIS II, xvi. 2-5

like other Eleans, abstained from competing. The inscription on his statue adds that he joined the Aetolians in their expedition against the Thessalians and became leader of the garrison at Naupactus because of his friendship with the Aetolians. Not far from the statue of Timon stands Hellas, and by Hellas stands Elis; Hellas is crowning with one hand Antigonus the guardian of Philip the son of Demetrius, with the other Philip himself; Elis is crowning Demetrius, who marched against Seleucus, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus

Aristeides of Elis won at Olympia (so the inscription on his statue declares) a victory in the race run in armour, at Pytho a victory in the double race, and at Nemea in the race for boys in the horse-course. The length of the horse-course is twice that of the double course, the event had been omitted from the Nemean and Isthmian games, but was restored to the Argives for their winter Nemean games by the emperor Hadrian.

Quite close to the statue of Aristeides stands Menalces of Elis, proclaimed victor at Olympia in the pentathlon, along with Philonides son of Zotes, who was a native of Cheisonesus in Crete, and a courier of Alexander the son of Philip. After him comes Bimias of Elis, victor in the men's boxing-match, Leonidas from Naxos in the Aegean, a statue dedicated by the Arcadians of Psophis, a statue of Asamon, victor in the men's boxing-match, and a statue of Nicander, who won two victories at Olympia in the double course and six victories in foot-races of various kinds at the Nemean games<sup>1</sup> Asamon and

<sup>1</sup> With the reading of Schubart, "at the Nemean and Isthmian games."

- δρόμῳ νίκας ἔξ ἀνηρημένου. ὁ δὲ Ἀσάμων καὶ ὁ Νίκανδρος Ἡλείοι μὲν ἦσαν, πεποίηκε δὲ τῷ μὲν Δάιππος τὴν εἰκόνα, Ἀσάμωνι δὲ Πυρι-  
 6 λάμπης Μεσσήνιος. Εὐαλκίδα δὲ Ἡλείῳ καὶ Σελεάδῃ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶν ἐγένοντο πυγμῆς νῖκαι, Σελεάδῃ δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄρμα οὐ μέγα ἀνάκειται Πολυπείθους Λάκωνος καὶ ἐπὶ στήλης τῆς αὐτῆς Καλλιτέλης ὁ τοῦ Πολυπείθους πατήρ, παλαιστής ἀνὴρ· νῖκαι δὲ σφισι τῷ μὲν ἵπποις, Καλ-  
 7 λιτέλει δὲ παλαίσαντί εἰσιν. ἰδιώτας δὲ ἀνδρας Ἡλείους Λάμπον Ἀρνίσκου καὶ . . . Ἀριστάρχου Ψωφίδιοι προξένοις ὄντας σφίσιν ἀνέθεσαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας εὖνοϊαν· μέσος δὲ ἕστηκεν αὐτῶν Λύσιππος Ἡλείος καταπαλαίσας τοὺς ἐσελθόντας τῶν παίδων, Ἀνδρέας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐποίησε τοῦ Λυσίππου τὴν εἰκόνα.
- 8 Λακεδαιμονίῳ δὲ Δεινοσθένει σταδίου τε ἐγένετο ἐν ἀνδράσιν Ὀλυμπικὴ νίκη καὶ στήλην ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Δεινοσθένης· ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἔξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐπὶ ἑτέραν στήλην τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέτρα φησὶν<sup>1</sup> εἶναι σταδίους ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίους. Θεόδωρον δὲ λαβόντα ἐπὶ πεντάθλῳ νίκην καὶ Πύτταλον Λάμπιδος πυγμῇ παῖδας κρατήσαντα καὶ Νεολαίδαν σταδίου τε ἀνελόμενον καὶ ὅπλου στέφανον, Ἡλείους σφᾶς ὄντας ἴστω τις· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Πυττάλῳ καὶ τάδε ἔτι λέγουσιν, ὥς γενομένης πρὸς Ἀρκάδας Ἡλείοις ἀμφισβητήσεως περὶ γῆς ὄρων εἶπεν

<sup>1</sup> φησὶν is not in the MSS

## ELIS II, xvi. 5-8

Nicander were Eleans; the statue of the latter was made by Daippus, that of Asamon by the Messenian Pylampes. Eualcidas of Elis won victories in the boys' boxing-match, Seleadas the Lacedaemonian in the men's wrestling-match. Here too is dedicated a small chariot of the Laconian Polypeithes, and on the same slab Calliteles, the father of Polypeithes, a wrestler. Polypeithes was victorious with his four-horse chariot, Calliteles in wrestling. There are private Eleans, Lampus the son of Aïniscus and . of Aristarchus; these the Psophidians dedicated, either because they were their public friends or because they had shown them some good-will. Between them stands Lysippus of Elis, who beat his competitors in the boys' wrestling-match, his statue was made by Andreas of Argos.

Deinosthenes the Lacedaemonian won an Olympic victory in the men's foot-race, and he dedicated in the Altis a slab by the side of his statue. The inscription declares that the distance from Olympia to another slab at Lacedaemon is six hundred and sixty furlongs. Theodorus gained a victory in the pentathlon, Pyttalus the son of Lampis won the boys' boxing-match, and Neolaïdas received a crown for the foot-race and the race in armour; all were, I may tell you, Eleans. About Pyttalus it is further related that, when a dispute about boundaries occurred between the Arcadians and the Eleans, he delivered

οὗτος ὁ Πύτταλος τὴν δίκην· ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀνδριάς  
 9 ἔργον ἐστὶν Ὀλυνθίου Σθένειδος. ἐφεξῆς δὲ  
 Πτολεμαῖός τέ ἐστιν ἀναβεβηκὼς ἵππον καὶ  
 παρ' αὐτὸν Ἡλείος ἀθλητῆς Παιάνιος ὁ Δαμα-  
 τρίου πάλης τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ τὰς δύο  
 Πυθικὰς ἀνηρημένος νίκας. Κλεάρετός τέ ἐστιν  
 Ἡλείος πεντάθλου λαβὼν στέφανον καὶ ἄρμα  
 ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἑτεοκλέους·  
 ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων οὗτος ἐπὶ ἄρματος  
 τελείου δρόμῳ.

XVII. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἀξιολογώτατα ἀνδρὶ  
 ποιουμένῳ τὴν ἔφοδον ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει κατὰ τὰ  
 ἡμῖν εἰρημένα· εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου πρὸς  
 τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ  
 θελήσειας, τοσάδε ἔστι σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων  
 ἐς μνήμην. Δημοκράτης Τενέδιος καὶ Ἡλείος  
 Κριάννιος, οὗτος μὲν ὄπλου λαβὼν νίκην,  
 Δημοκράτης δὲ ἀνδρῶν πάλης· ἀνδριάντας δὲ  
 τοῦ μὲν Μιλήσιος Διονυσικλῆς, τοῦ δὲ Κριαν-  
 νίου Μακεδὼν Λῦσός ἐστιν ὁ ἐργασάμενος  
 2 Κλαζομενίου δὲ Ἡροδότου καὶ Φιλίνου τοῦ  
 Ἠγεπόλιδος Κῶου ἀνέθεσαν τὰς εἰκόνας αἱ  
 πόλεις, Κλαζομένιοι μὲν ὅτι ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 Κλαζομενίων πρῶτος ἀνηγορεύθη νικῶν Ἡρό-  
 δοτος, ἡ δὲ οἱ νίκη σταδίου γέγονεν ἐν παισὶ,  
 Φιλῖνον δὲ οἱ Κῶοι δόξης ἕνεκα ἀνέθεσαν· ἐν  
 μὲν γε Ὀλυμπίᾳ δρόμου γεγονάσιν αὐτῷ νῖκαι  
 πέντε, τέσσαρες δὲ Πυθοῖ καὶ ἴσαι Νεμείων,  
 3 ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ μία ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα. Πτολεμαῖον  
 δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου Ἀριστόλαος  
 ἀνέθηκε Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ. ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ πύκ-  
 της κρατήσας ἐν παισὶ Βούτας Πολυνεῖκους

judgment on the matter His statue is the work of Sthennis the Olynthian. Next is Ptolemy, mounted on a horse, and by his side is an Elean athlete, Paeanius the son of Damatrius, who won at Olympia a victory in wrestling besides two Pythian victories. There is also Clearetus of Elis, who received a crown in the pentathlum, and a chariot of an Athenian, Glaucon the son of Eteocles. This Glaucon was proclaimed victor in a chariot-race for full-grown horses

XVII. These are the most remarkable sights that meet a man who goes over the Altis according to the instructions I have given. But if you will go to the right from the Leonidaeum to the great altar, you will come across the following notable objects. There is Democrates of Tenedos, who won the men's wrestling-match, and Criannius of Elis, who won a victory in the race in armour. The statue of Democrates was made by Dionysicles of Miletus, that of Criannius by Lysus of Macedonia. The statues of Herodotus of Clazomenae and of Philnus, son of Hegopolis, of Cos, were dedicated by their respective cities. The Clazomenians dedicated a statue of Herodotus because he was the first Clazomenian to be proclaimed victor at Olympia, his victory being in the boys' foot-race. The Coans dedicated a statue of Philnus because of his great renown, for he won at Olympia five victories in running, at Pytho four victories, at Nemea four, and at the Isthmus eleven. The statue of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy Lagus, was dedicated by Aristolaus, a Macedonian. There is also dedicated a statue of a victorious boy boxer, Butas of Miletus, son of

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Μιλήσιος, καὶ Καλλικράτης ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 Ληθαίῳ Μαγνησίας ἐπὶ τῷ ὀπλίτῃ δρόμῳ στε-  
 φάνους δύο ἀννηρημένους· Λυσίππου δὲ ἔργον ἡ  
 4 τοῦ Καλλικράτους ἐστὶν εἰκών. Ἐνατίωνι δὲ  
 καὶ Ἀλεξιβίῳ, τῷ μὲν ἐν παισὶ σταδίου, Ἀλε-  
 ξιβίῳ δὲ πεντάθλου γέγονε νίκη, καὶ Ἡραία τε  
 Ἀρκάδων ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πατρίς καὶ Ἀκέστωρ ὁ  
 τὴν εἰκόνα εἰργασμένος· Ἐνατίωνα δὲ ἡστινος  
 ἦν οὐ δηλοῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὅτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων  
 ἦν ἔθνους δηλοῖ. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ Ἑρμησιάναξ  
 Ἀγονέου καὶ Εἰκάσιος Λυκίνου τε ὧν καὶ τῆς  
 Ἑρμησιάνακτος θυγατρὸς κατεπάλαισαν μὲν  
 παῖδας ἀμφότεροι, Ἑρμησιάνακτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Κολοφωνίων ὑπῆρξεν ἀνατεθῆναι  
 τὴν εἰκόνα.

5 Τούτων δὲ εἰσιν Ἡλεῖοι πλησίον πυγμῇ παῖδας  
 κρατήσαντες, ὁ μὲν Σθένειδος ἔργον τοῦ Ὀλυν-  
 θίου Χοιρίλος, Θεότιμος δὲ Δαιτώνδα Σικωνίου·  
 παῖς δὲ ὁ Θεότιμος ἦν Μοσχίνως, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ  
 τῷ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ καὶ Πέρσας  
 στρατείας μετασχόντος. δύο δὲ αὖθις ἐξ Ἡλιδος,  
 Ἀρχίδαμος τεθρίπῳ νενικηκὼς καὶ Ἐπέραστος  
 6 ἐστὶν ὁ Θεογόνου ὄπλου νίκην ἀννηρημένος· εἶναι  
 δὲ καὶ μάντις ὁ Ἐπέραστος τοῦ Κλυτιδῶν  
 γένους φησὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος τῇ  
 τελευτῇ,

τῶν δ' ἱερογλώσσω Κλυτιδᾶν γένος εὐχομαι  
 εἶναι

μάντις, ἀπ' ἰσοθέων αἶμα Μελαμποδιδᾶν.

Μελάμποδος γὰρ ἦν τοῦ Ἀμυθάονος Μάντιος,  
 τοῦ δὲ Ὀικλῆς, Κλυτίος δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνος τοῦ

Polyneices, a statue too of Callicrates of Magnesia on the Lethaeus, who received two crowns for victories in the race in armour. The statue of Callicrates is the work of Lysippus. Enation won a victory in the boys' foot-race, and Alexibius in the pentathlon. The native place of Alexibius was Heraea in Arcadia, and Acestor made his statue. The inscription on the statue of Enation does not state his native place, though it does state that he was of Arcadian descent. Two Colophonians, Hermesianax son of Agoneus and Eicasius son of Lycinus and the daughter of Hermesianax, both won the boys' wrestling-match. The statue of Hermesianax was dedicated by the commonwealth of Colophon.

Near these are Eleans who beat the boys at boxing, Choerilus the work of Sthennis of Olynthus, and Theotimus the work of Daitondas of Sicyon. Theotimus was a son of Moschion, who took part in the expedition of Alexander the son of Philip against Dareius and the Persians. There are two more from Elis, Aichidamus who was victorious with a four-horse chariot and Eperastus the son of Theogonus, victor in the race in armour. That he was the soothsayer of the clan of the Clytidae, Eperastus declares at the end of the inscription —

Of the stock of the sacred-tongued Clytidae I  
boast to be,

Their soothsayer, the scion of the god-like  
Melampodidae.

For Mantius was a son of Melampus, the son of Amythaon, and he had a son Oicles, while Clytius



Ἀμφιαράου τοῦ Ὀικλέους· ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμαίῳ ὁ Κλυτίος ἐκ τῆς Φηγέως θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν μετώκησε, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς εἶναι τῆς μητρὸς σύνοικος φεύγων, ἅτε τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος ἐπιστάμενος σφᾶς εἰργασμένους τὸν φόνον.

- 7 Ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν Ἀλεξινικόν τε Ἡλείον, τέχνην τοῦ Σικυνωνίου Κανθάρου, πάλης ἐν παισὶν ἀνηρημένον νίκην, καὶ τὸν Λεοντίνου Γοργίαν ἰδεῖν ἔστιν· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν φησὶν Εὐμόλπος ἀπόγονος τρίτος Δηικράτους συνοικήσαντος ἀδελφῇ τῇ Γοργίου.
- 8 οὗτος ὁ Γοργίας πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Χαρμαντίδου, λέγεται δὲ ἀνασώσασθαι μελέτην λόγων πρῶτος ἡμελημένην τε ἐς ἅπαν καὶ ἐς λήθην ὀλίγου δεῖν ἤκουσαν ἀνθρώποις· εὐδοκιμῆσαι δὲ Γοργίαν λόγων ἔνεκα ἔν τε πανηγύρει τῇ Ὀλυμπικῇ φασὶ καὶ ἀφικόμενον κατὰ πρεσβείαν ὁμοῦ Τισία παρ' Ἀθηναίους. καίτοι ἄλλα τε Τισίας ἐς λόγους ἐσηνέγκατο καὶ πιθανώτατα τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν γυναικὶ Συρακουσίᾳ χρημάτων ἔγραφεν
- 9 ἀμφισβήτησιν· ἀλλὰ γε ἐκείνου τε ἐς πλεόν τιμῆς ἀφίκετο ὁ Γοργίας παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ Ἰάσων ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ τυραννήσας Πολυκράτους, οὐ τὰ ἔσχατα ἐνεγκαμένου διδασκαλείου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰάσων ἐποιήσατο. βιῶναι δὲ ἔτη Γοργίαν πέντε φασὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατόν· Λεοντίνων δὲ ἐρημωθείσάν ποτε ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων τὴν πόλιν κατ' ἐμὲ αὖθις συνέβαινεν οἰκεῖσθαι.

XVIII. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κυρηναίου Κρατι-

was a son of Alcmaeon, the son of Amphiaraus, the son of Oicles. Clytius was the son of Alcmaeon by the daughter of Phegeus, and he migrated to Elis because he shrank from living with his mother's brothers, knowing that they had compassed the murder of Alcmaeon.

Mingled with the less illustrious offerings we may see the statues of Aleximicus of Elis, the work of Cantharus of Sicyon, who won a victory in the boys' wrestling-match, and of Gorgias of Leontini. This statue was dedicated at Olympia by Eumolpus, as he himself says, the grandson of Deicrates who married the sister of Gorgias. This Gorgias was a son of Charmantides, and is said to have been the first to revive the study of rhetoric, which had been altogether neglected, in fact almost forgotten by mankind. They say that Gorgias won great renown for his eloquence at the Olympic assembly, and also when he accompanied Tisias on an embassy to Athens. Yet Tisias improved the art of rhetoric, in particular he wrote the most persuasive speech of his time to support the claim of a Syracusan woman to a property. However, Gorgias surpassed his fame at Athens; indeed Jason, the tyrant of Thessaly, placed him before Polycrates, who was a shining light of the Athenian school. Gorgias, they say, lived to be one hundred and five years old. Leontini was once laid waste by the Syracusans, but in my time was again inhabited.

XVIII. There is also a bronze statue of Cratis-

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σθένους χαλκοῦν ἄρμα, καὶ Νίκη τε ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ ἄρματος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κρατισθένης. δῆλα μὲν δὴ ὅτι ἵππων γέγονεν αὐτῷ νίκη· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Μνασέου τοῦ δρομέως, ἐπικληθέντος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Λίβυος, εἴη παῖς ὁ Κρατισθένης. τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ῥηγίνου Πυθαγόρου τέχνη.

- 2 Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀναξιμένους οἶδα εἰκόνα ἀν-  
ευρών, ὃς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἀρχαῖα, καὶ ὅσα  
Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου καὶ ὕστερον Ἀλέξανδρος  
εἰργάσατο, συνέγραφεν ὁμοίως ἅπαντα· ἡ δέ  
οἱ τιμὴ γέγονεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τῶν Λαμψα-  
κηνῶν τοῦ δήμου. ὑπελίπετο δὲ Ἀναξιμένης  
τοσάδε ἐς μνήμην βασιλέα γὰρ οὐ τὰ πάντα  
ἥπιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα θυμῷ χρώμενον,  
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου, τέχνη περιήλθε  
3 τοιαῦδε. Λαμψακηνῶν τὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν  
φρονησάντων ἢ καὶ αἰτίαν φρονῆσαι λαβόντων,  
ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἅτε ὑπερζέων ἐς αὐτοὺς τῇ ὀργῇ  
κακῶν ἠπεῖλει τὰ μέγιστα ἐργάσασθαι· οἱ δὲ  
ἅτε θεόντες περὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων καὶ  
αὐτῆς πατρίδος ἀποστέλλουσιν Ἀναξιμένην  
ἰκετεύειν, Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἔτι Φιλίππῳ  
πρότερον γεγυῖνός τε ἐν γνώσει. προσῆι τε ὁ  
Ἀναξιμένης, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, πεπυσμένον  
καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν ἦκοι, κατομόσασθαι φασιν  
ἐπονομάζοντα θεοὺς τοὺς Ἑλλήνων ἢ μὴν αὐτοῦ  
ταῖς δεήσεσιν ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἐναντία ἐργάσασθαι.  
4 ἔνθα δὴ εἶπεν Ἀναξιμένης· “χαρίσασθαι μοι  
τῇνδε ὧ βασιλεῦ τὴν χάριν, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι  
μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα Λαμψακηνῶν, κατα-  
βαλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν, τὰ  
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thenes of Cyrene, and on the chariot stand Victory and Cratisthenes himself. It is thus plain that his victory was in the chariot-race. The story goes that Cratisthenes was the son of Mnaseas the runner, surnamed the Libyan by the Greeks. His offerings at Olympia are the work of Pythagoras of Rhegium.

Here too I remember discovering the statue of Anaximenes, who wrote a universal history of ancient Greece, including the exploits of Philip the son of Amyntas and the subsequent deeds of Alexander. His honour at Olympia was due to the people of Lampsacus. Anaximenes bequeathed to posterity the following anecdotes about himself. Alexander, the son of Philip, no meek and mild person but a most passionate monarch, he circumvented by the following artifice. The people of Lampsacus favoured the cause of the Persian king, or were suspected of doing so, and Alexander, boiling over with rage against them, threatened to treat them with utmost rigour. As their wives, their children, and their country itself were in great danger, they sent Anaximenes to intercede for them, because he was known to Alexander himself and had been known to Philip before him. Anaximenes approached, and when Alexander learned for what cause he had come, they say that he swore by the gods of Greece, whom he named, that he would verily do the opposite of what Anaximenes asked. Thereupon Anaximenes said, "Grant me, O king, this favour. Enslave the women and children of the people of Lampsacus, raze the whole city even to the ground, and burn the

δὲ ἱερὰ τῶν θεῶν σφισιν ἐμπρῆσαι.” ὁ μὲν  
ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ  
σόφισμα ἀντιμηχανήσασθαί τι εὐρίσκων καὶ  
ἐνεχόμενος τῇ ἀνάγκῃ τοῦ ὄρκου συγγνώμην  
5 ἔνεμεν οὐκ ἐθέλων Λαμψακηνοῖς. φαίνεται δὲ  
καὶ ἄνδρα ὃ Ἀναξιμένης ἐχθρὸν οὐκ ἀμαθέστατα  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιφθονώτατα ἀμυνάμενος. ἐπεφύκει  
μὲν αὐτὸς σοφιστῆς καὶ σοφιστῶν λόγους  
μιμῆσθαι· ὥς δέ οἱ διαφορὰ ἐς Θεόπομπον  
ἐγγέγονει τὸν Δαμασιστράτου, γράφει βιβλίον  
ἐς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμον καὶ  
Θηβαίοις συγγραφὴν λοῖδορον. ὥς δὲ ἦν ἐς τὸ  
ἀκριβέστατον αὐτῷ μεμιμημένα, ἐπιγράψας τοῦ  
Θεοπόμπου τὸ ὄνομα τῷ βιβλίῳ διέπεμπεν ἐς  
τὰς πόλεις· καὶ αὐτὸς τε συγγεγραφῶς ἦν καὶ  
τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Θεόπομπον ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
6 Ἑλλάδα ἐπηύξητο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἰπεῖν τις αὐ-  
τοσχεδίως Ἀναξιμένους πρότερός ἐστιν εὐρηκῶς·  
τὰ ἔπη δὲ τὰ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον οὐ μοι πιστά ἐστιν  
Ἀναξιμένην τὸν ποιήσαντα εἶναι.

Σωτάδης δὲ ἐπὶ δολίχου νίκαις Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν  
ἐνάτῃ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῇ Κρής, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἦν,  
ἀνερρήθη, τῇ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ λαβὼν χρημάτα παρὰ  
τοῦ Ἐφεσίων κοινού Ἐφεσίοις ἐσεποίησεν αὐτόν·  
καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ φυγῇ ζημιοῦσιν οἱ Κρήτες.  
7 Πρῶται δὲ ἀθλητῶν ἀνετέθησαν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν  
εἰκόνες Πραξιδάμαντός τε Αἰγινήτου νικήσαντος  
πυγμῇ τὴν ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς πεντή-  
κοντα καὶ Ὀπουντίου Ῥηξιβίου παγκρατιαστὰς  
καταγωνισαμένου μιᾷ πρὸς ταῖς ἐξήκοντα Ὀλυμ-  
πιάδι· αὗται κεῖνται μὲν αἱ εἰκόνες οὐ πρόσω  
τῆς Οἰνομάου κίονος, ξύλου δὲ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι,  
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sanctuaries of their gods" Such were his words; and Alexander, finding no way to counter the trick, and bound by the compulsion of his oath, unwillingly pardoned the people of Lampsacus. Anaximenes is also known to have retaliated on a personal enemy in a very clever but very ill-natured way. He had a natural aptitude for rhetoric and for imitating the style of rhetoricians. Having a quarrel with Theopompus the son of Damasistratus, he wrote a treatise abusing Athenians, Lacedaemonians and Thebans alike. He imitated the style of Theopompus with perfect accuracy, inscribed his name upon the book and sent it round to the cities. Though Anaximenes was the author of the treatise, hatred of Theopompus grew throughout the length of Greece. Moreover, Anaximenes was the first to compose extemporary speeches, though I cannot believe that he was the author of the epic on Alexander.

Sotades at the ninety-ninth Festival was victorious in the long race and proclaimed a Cretan, as in fact he was. But at the next Festival he made himself an Ephesian, being bribed to do so by the Ephesian people. For this act he was banished by the Cretans.

The first athletes to have their statues dedicated at Olympia were Praxidamas of Aegina, victorious at boxing at the fifty-ninth Festival, and Rexibius the Opuntian, a successful pancratiast at the sixty-first Festival. These statues stand near the pillar of Oenomaus, and are made of wood, Rexibius of fig-

Ῥηξιβίου μὲν συκῆς, ἥ δὲ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου κυπαρίσσου καὶ ἦσσαν τῆς ἐτέρας πεπονηκυιά ἐστιν.

- XIX. Ἔστι δὲ λίθου πωρίνου κρηπὶς ἐν τῇ Ἄλτει πρὸς ἄρκτον τοῦ Ἡραίου, κατὰ νώτου δὲ αὐτῆς παρήκει τὸ Κρόνιον· ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρηπιδὸς εἰσιν οἱ θησαυροί, καθὰ δὴ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἐποίησαν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι θησαυρούς. ἔστι δὲ θησαυρὸς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Σικυωνίων καλούμενος, Μύρωνος δὲ ἀνάθημα
- 2 τυραννήσαντος Σικυωνίων· τοῦτον ὠκοδόμησεν ὁ Μύρων νικήσας ἄρματι τὴν τρίτην καὶ τριακοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα. ἐν δὲ τῷ θησαυρῷ καὶ θαλάμους δύο ἐποίησε, τὸν μὲν Δώριον, τὸν δὲ ἐργασίας τῆς Ἰώνων. χαλκοῦ μὲν δὴ αὐτοὺς ἑώρων εἰργασμένους· εἰ δὲ καὶ Ταρτήσσιος χαλκὸς λόγῳ τῷ Ἡλείων ἐστίν, οὐκ οἶδα.
- 3 Ταρτήσσιον δὲ εἶναι ποταμὸν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Ἰβήρων λέγουσι στόμασιν εἰς θάλασσαν κατερχόμενον δυσὶ καὶ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν κειμένην· τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν μέγιστόν τε ὄντα τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ ἄμπωτιν παρερχόμενον Βαῖτιν ὠνόμασαν οἱ ὕστερον, εἰς δ' οἱ Καρπίαν Ἰβήρων πόλιν καλεῖσθαι νομίζουσι
- 4 τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Ταρτησσόν. ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ δὲ ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ἐλάσσονι ἐστὶ τῶν θαλάμων, εἰς μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν σταθμόν, ὅτι πεντακόσια εἴη τάλαντα, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἀναθέντας, Μύρωνα εἶναι καὶ τὸν Σικυωνίων δῆμον. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ θησαυρῷ δίσκοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάκεινται τρεῖς, ὅσους εἰς τοῦ πεντάθλου τὸ ἀγώνισμα ἐσκομίζουσι καὶ ἀσπὶς ἐστὶν ἐπίχαλκος γραφῇ τὰ ἐντὸς πεποικιλμένη καὶ κράνος τε καὶ κνημίδες ὁμοῦ τῇ ἀσπίδι.

wood and the Aeginetan of cypress, and his statue is less decayed than the other

XIX. There is in the Altis to the north of the Heraeum a terrace of conglomerate, and behind it stretches Mount Cronius. On this terrace are the treasuries, just as at Delphi certain of the Greeks have made treasuries for Apollo. There is at Olympia a treasury called the treasury of the Sicyonians, dedicated by Myron, who was tyrant of Sicyon. Myron built it to commemorate a victory in the chariot-race at the thirty-third Festival. In the treasury he made two chambers, one Dorian and one in the Ionic style. I saw that they were made of bronze, whether the bronze is Tartessian, as the Eleians declare, I do not know. They say that Tartessus is a river in the land of the Iberians, running down into the sea by two mouths, and that between these two mouths lies a city of the same name. The river, which is the largest in Iberia, and tidal, those of a later day called Baetis, and there are some who think that Tartessus was the ancient name of Carpia, a city of the Iberians. On the smaller of the chambers at Olympia are inscriptions, which inform us that the weight of the bronze is five hundred talents, and that the dedicators were Myron and the Sicyonian people. In this chamber are kept three quoits, being used for the contest of the pentathlon. There is also a bronze-plated shield, adorned with paintings on the inner side, and along with the shield are a helmet



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ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἀκροθίνιον τῷ  
 Διὶ ὑπὸ Μυάνων ἀνατεθῆναι. οὔτινες δὲ οὗτοι  
 ἦσαν, οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ παράστατο ἅπασιν  
 5 εἰκάζειν· ἐμὲ δὲ ἐσήλθεν ἀνάμνησις ὡς Θουκυ-  
 δίδης ποιήσκειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις Λοκρῶν τῶν πρὸς  
 τῇ Φωκίδι καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐν δὲ αὐταῖς εἶναι  
 καὶ Μυονέας. οἱ Μυᾶνες οὖν οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι  
 κατὰ γε ἡμετέραν γνώμην ἄνθρωποι μὲν εἰσιν  
 οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ<sup>1</sup> Μυονεῖς οἱ ἐν τῇ Λοκρίδι ἡπεύρω·  
 τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι γράμματα παρήκται μὲν  
 ἐπὶ βραχύ, πέπονθε δὲ αὐτὸ διὰ τοῦ ἀναθήματος  
 6 τὸ ἀρχαῖον. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐνταῦθα ἄξια  
 ἐπιμνησθῆναι, μάχαιρα ἡ Πέλοπος χρυσοῦ τὴν  
 λαβὴν πεποιημένη, καὶ εἰργασμένον ἐλέφαντος  
 κέρας τὸ Ἀμαλθείας, ἀνάθημα Μιλτιάδου τοῦ  
 Κίμωνος, ὃς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἐν χερρονησῶ τῇ  
 Θρακίᾳ πρῶτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης· καὶ ἐπίγραμμα  
 ἐπὶ τῷ κέρατι ἐστὶν ἀρχαίοις Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασι,

Ζηνὶ μ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὀλυμπίῳ ἐκ χερρο-  
 νήσου

τείχος ἐλόντες Ἀράτου· ἐπῆρχε δὲ Μιλτιάδης  
 σφίν.

κεῖται δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα πύξινον Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἐπιχρύσου τὴν κεφαλὴν· ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ  
 Λοκρῶν φησὶ τῶν πρὸς Ζεφυρίῳ τῇ ἄκρᾳ,  
 Πατροκλέα δὲ εἶναι Κατίλλου Κροτωνιάτην  
 τὸν εἰργασμένον.

7 Ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Σικωνίων ἐστὶν ὁ Καρχηδονίων  
 θησαυρός, Ποθαίου τέχνη καὶ Ἀντιφίλου τε καὶ  
 Μεγακλέους· ἀναθήματα δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Ζεὺς μεγέθει  
 μέγας καὶ θώρακες λινοῖ τρεῖς ἀριθμόν, Γέλωνος

## ELIS II, XIX. 4-7

and greaves. An inscription on the armour says that they were dedicated by the Myanians as first-fruits to Zeus. Various conjectures have been made as to who these Myanians were. I happened to remember that Thucydides<sup>1</sup> in his history mentions various cities of the Locrians near Phocis, and among them the Myonians. So the Myanians on the shield are in my opinion the same folk as the Myonians on the Locrian mainland. The letters on the shield are a little distorted, a fault due to the antiquity of the votive offering. There are placed here other offerings worthy to be recorded, the sword of Pelops with its hilt of gold, and the ivory horn of Amaltheia, an offering of Miltiades the son of Cimon, who was the first of his house to rule in the Thracian Chersonesus. On the horn is an inscription in old Attic characters:

To Olympian Zeus was I dedicated by the men  
of Chersonesus

After they had taken the fortress of Aratus.  
Their leader was Miltiades.

There stands also a box-wood image of Apollo with its head plated with gold. The inscription says that it was dedicated by the Locrians who live near the Western Cape, and that the artist was Patrocles of Crotona, the son of Catillus.

Next to the treasury of the Sicyonians is the treasury of the Carthaginians, the work of Pothaeus, Antiphilus and Megacles. In it are votive offerings—a huge image of Zeus and three linen breast-plates, dedicated by Gelo and the Syracusans after

<sup>1</sup> Book III chap. ci.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ is not in the MSS

δὲ ἀνάθημα καὶ Συρακοσίων Φοίνικας ἤτοι τριή-  
ρεσιν ἢ καὶ πεζῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων.

8 Ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ ὁ τέταρτος  
ἀνάθημά ἐστιν Ἐπιδαμνίων . . . ἔχει μὲν πόλον  
ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὸ Ἄτλαντος, ἔχει δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ  
δένδρον τὸ παρὰ Ἑσπερίσι, τὴν μηλέαν, καὶ περι-  
ειλιγμένον τῇ μηλέᾳ τὸν δράκοντα, κέδρου μὲν  
καὶ ταῦτα, Θεοκλέους δὲ ἔργα τοῦ Ἡγύλου·  
ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδί φησι τὰ ἐπὶ  
τοῦ πόλου γράμματα. αἱ δὲ Ἑσπερίδες—μετε-  
κινήθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων—αὗται μὲν ἔτι καὶ  
ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ· τὸν δὲ θησαυρὸν τοῖς  
Ἐπιδαμνίοις Πύρρος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Λακράτης τε  
καὶ Ἑρμῶν ἐποίησαν.

9 Ὡκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ Συβαρίται θησαυρὸν ἐχό-  
μενον τοῦ Βυζαντίων· ὅποσοι δὲ περὶ Ἰταλίας  
καὶ πόλεων ἐπολυπραγμόνησαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ,  
Λουπίας φασὶ κειμένην Βρεντεσίου τε μεταξὺ καὶ  
Ὑδροῦντος μεταβεβληκέναι τὸ ὄνομα, Σύβαριν  
οὖσαν τὸ ἀρχαῖον· ὁ δὲ ὄρμος ταῖς ναυσὶ χειρο-  
ποίητος καὶ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶν ἔργον.

10 Πρὸς δὲ τῷ Συβαριτῶν Λιβύων ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν  
Κυρήνῃ θησαυρός· κεῖνται δὲ βασιλεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ  
Ῥωμαίων. Σικελιώτας δὲ Σελινουντίους ἀνέστη-  
σαν μὲν Καρχηδόνιοι πολέμῳ· πρὶν δὲ ἢ τὴν  
συμφορὰν γενέσθαι σφίσι, θησαυρὸν τῷ ἐν  
Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὶ ἐποίησαν. Διόνυσος δὲ ἐστὶν  
ἐν ταῦθα πρόσωπον καὶ ἄκρους πόδας καὶ τὰς  
χεῖρας ἐλέφαντος εἰργασμένος.

11 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Μεταποντίνων θησαυρῷ—προσεχῆς  
γὰρ τῷ Σελινουντίων ἐστὶν οὗτος—ἐν τούτῳ  
πεποιημένος ἐστὶν Ἐνδυμίων· πλὴν δὲ ἐσθῆτός

## ELIS II, XIX. 7-11

overcoming the Phoenicians in either a naval or a land battle

The third of the treasures, and the fourth as well, were dedicated by the Epidamnians. It shows the heavens upheld by Atlas, and also Heracles and the apple-tree of the Hesperides, with the snake coiled round the apple-tree. These too are of cedar-wood, and are works of Theocles, son of Hegylus. The inscription on the heavens says that his son helped him to make it. The Hesperides (they were removed by the Eleans) were even in my time in the Heraeum, the treasury was made for the Epidamnians by Pyrrhus and his sons Laciates and Hermon.

The Sybarites too built a treasury adjoining that of the Byzantines. Those who have studied the history of Italy and of the Italian cities say that Lupiae, situated between Brundisium and Hydrus, has changed its name, and was Sybaris in ancient times. The harbour is artificial, being a work of the emperor Hadrian.

Near the treasury of the Sybarites is the treasury of the Libyans of Cyrene. In it stand statues of Roman emperors. Selinus in Sicily was destroyed by the Carthaginians in a war, but before the disaster befell them the citizens made a treasury dedicated to Zeus of Olympia. There stands in it an image of Dionysus with face, feet and hands of ivory.

In the treasury of the Metapontines, which adjoins that of the Selinuntians, stands an Endymion;

# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- ἔστι τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ τῷ Ἐνδυμίῳ ἐλέφαντος. Μεταποντίνους δὲ ἦτις μὲν ἐπέλαβεν ἀπολέσθαι πρόφασιν, οὐκ οἶδα· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ὅτι μὴ θέατρον καὶ περίβολοι τείχους ἄλλο ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν
- 12 Μεταποντίου. Μεγαρεῖς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττικῇ θησαυρὸν τε ᾧ κοδομήσαντο καὶ ἀναθήματα ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν θησαυρὸν κέδρου ζώδια χρυσῷ διηνηθισμένα, τὴν πρὸς Ἀχελῷον Ἡρακλέους μάχην· Ζεὺς δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ Δηιάνειρα καὶ Ἀχελῷος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστίν, Ἄρης τε τῷ Ἀχελῷῳ βοηθῶν. εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἄγαλμα ἅτε οὔσα τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ σύμμαχος· αὕτη παρὰ τὰς Ἑσπερίδας ἀνάκειται νῦν τὰς ἐν τῷ
- 13 Ἡραίῳ. τοῦ θησαυροῦ δὲ ἐπείργασται τῷ αἰετῷ ὁ γιγάντων καὶ θεῶν πόλεμος· ἀνάκειται δὲ καὶ ἀσπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ αἰετοῦ, τοὺς Μεγαρέας ἀπὸ Κορινθίων ἀναθεῖναι τὸν θησαυρὸν λέγουσα. ταύτην Μεγαρεῦσιν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν νίκην Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος γενέσθαι Φόρβαντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου παντός· ἐνιαύσαι γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν πω τότε Ἀθηναίοις αἱ ἀρχαί, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλείων ἀνεγράφοντό πω τηνικαῦτα αἱ ὀλυμ-
- 14 πιάδες. λέγονται δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μετασχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἔργου τὸν δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θησαυρὸν ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τῆς μάχης ἐποίησαν οἱ Μεγαρεῖς· τὰ δὲ ἀναθήματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφᾶς ἔχειν εἰκός, ἃ γε ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος † Δόντας<sup>1</sup> Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος μα-
- 15 θητῆς ἐποίησε. τελευταῖος δὲ τῶν θησαυρῶν πρὸς αὐτῷ μὲν ἐστίν ἤδη τῷ σταδίῳ, Γελῶν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> It is supposed that the text is corrupt here, because of the strange name Dontas. Μέδων αὐτοῖς has been suggested.

it too is of ivory except the drapery How it came about that the Metapontines were destroyed I do not know, but to-day nothing is left of Metapontum but the theatre and the circuit of the walls The Megarians who are neighbours of Attica built a treasury and dedicated in it offerings, small cedar-wood figures inlaid with gold, representing the fight of Heracles with Achelous The figures include Zeus, Deianeira, Achelous, Heracles, and Ares helping Achelous There once stood here an image of Athena, as being an ally of Heracles, but it now stands by the Hesperides in the Heraeum On the pediment of the treasury is carved the war of the giants and the gods, and above the pediment is dedicated a shield, the inscription declaring that the Megarians dedicated the treasury from spoils taken from the Corinthians I think that the Megarians won this victory when Phorbas, who held a life office, was archon at Athens At this time Athenian offices were not yet annual, nor had the Eleans begun to record the Olympiads The Argives are said to have helped the Megarians in the engagement with the Corinthians The treasury at Olympia was made by the Megarians years<sup>1</sup> after the battle, but it is to be supposed that they had the offerings from of old, seeing that they were made by the Lacedaemonian Dontas, a pupil of Dipoenus and Scyllis The last of the treasures is right by the stadium, the inscription

<sup>1</sup> The Greek scarcely allows of this meaning Some numeral, or adjective, seems to have fallen out

ἀνάθημα τὸν τε θησαυρὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἶναι τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγει τὸ ἐπίγραμμα· οὐ μέντοι ἀνακείμενά γε ἔτι ἀγάλματά ἐστιν.

XX Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ Κρόνιον κατὰ τὰ ἥδε λελεγεμένα μοι παρὰ τὴν κρηπίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῇ παρήκει θησαυρούς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ κορυφῇ θύουσιν οἱ Βασίλαι καλούμενοι τῷ Κρόνῳ κατὰ ἰσημερίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἡρι, Ἐλαφίῳ μηνὶ παρὰ  
 2 Ἡλείοις. ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασι τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν Εἰλειθυίας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἡλείοις ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμὰς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐπονομάζοντες Ὀλυμπίαν, ἱερασομένην αἰροῦνται τῇ θεῷ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτις ἡ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἡλείῳ καὶ αὐτῇ λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθησιν αὐτῷ  
 3 μεμαγμένας μέλιτι. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ—διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποιήται—τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας βωμὸς καὶ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὸ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμὰς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλὴν τῇ θεραπευούσῃ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυσμένη ὕψος λευκόν· παρθένοι δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ὑπομένουσαι καὶ γυναῖκες ὕμνον ᾄδουσι, καθαγίζουσai δὲ καὶ θυμιάματα παντοῖα αὐτῷ ἐπισπένδειν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον. καὶ ὄρκος παρὰ τῷ Σωσιπόλιδι ἐπὶ μεγίστοις  
 4 καθέστηκεν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἐς τὴν Ἡλείαν ἐσβεβληκότων στρατιᾷ καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων σφίσιν ἀντικαθημένων γυναῖκα ἀφικομένην παρὰ

stating that the treasury, and the images in it, were dedicated by the people of Gela. The images, however, are no longer there.

XX. Mount Cronus, as I have already said, extends parallel to the terrace with the treasures on it. On the summit of the mountain the Basilae, as they are called, sacrifice to Cronus at the spring equinox, in the month called Elaphius among the Eleans. At the foot of Mount Cronus, on the north . . .<sup>1</sup> between the treasures and the mountain, is a sanctuary of Eleithyia, and in it Sosipolis,<sup>2</sup> a native Elean deity, is worshipped. Now they surname Eleithyia Olympian, and choose a priestess for the goddess every year. The old woman who tends Sosipolis herself too by an Elean custom lives in chastity, bringing water for the god's bath and setting before him barley cakes kneaded with honey. In the front part of the temple, for it is built in two parts, is an altar of Eleithyia and an entrance for the public; in the inner part Sosipolis is worshipped, and no one may enter it except the woman who tends the god, and she must wrap her head and face in a white veil. Maidens and matrons wait in the sanctuary of Eleithyia chanting a hymn; they burn all manner of incense to the god, but it is not the custom to pour libations of wine. An oath is taken by Sosipolis on the most important occasions. The story is that when the Arcadians had invaded the land of Elis, and the Eleans were set in array

<sup>1</sup> Some genitive seems to have fallen out here. τοῦ Ἡραίου and τῆς Ἀλτῆως have been suggested. Other conjectures are (1) to insert τεῖχος after ἄρκτον, (2) to read Ἀλτιω for ἄρκτον.

<sup>2</sup> "Saviour of the State"



- τῶν Ἡλείων τοὺς στρατηγούς, νήπιον παῖδα ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μαστῷ, λέγειν ὡς τέκοι μὲν αὕτη τὸν παῖδα, διδοίη δὲ ἐξ ὀνειράτων συμμαχήσουσα Ἡλείοις. οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς—πιστὰ γὰρ τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἡγοῦντο εἰρηκέναι—τιθέασιν  
 5 τὸ παιδίον πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος γυμνόν. ἐπή-  
 εσάν τε δὴ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνταῦθα ἤδη δράκων ἦν· ταραχθεῖσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ ἐνδοῦσιν ἐς φυγὴν ἐπέκειντο οἱ Ἡεῖλοι, καὶ νίκην τε ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀνείλουντο καὶ ὄνομα τῷ θεῷ τίθενται Σωσίπολιν. ἐνθα δὲ σφισιν ὁ δράκων ἔδοξεν ἐσθῦναι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν ἐνταῦθα· σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδα σφισιν  
 6 ἡ θεὸς αὕτη προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐστὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου διαβάντων τὸν Κλάδεον ὡς ἐπὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Εἰλείθυιας ἐρείπια Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας ἱεροῦ λείπεται, θύουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτόθι ἐπὶ τῶν βωμῶν.
- 7 Ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τῆς Ἀλτεως κατὰ τὴν πομπικὴν ἔσοδον Ἴπποδάμειον καλούμενον, ὅσον πλέθρου χωρίον περιεχόμενον θοιγκῷ· ἐς τοῦτο ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔστι ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἔσοδος, αἱ θύουσι τῇ Ἴπποδαμείᾳ καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν δρῶσιν αὐτῆς. τὴν δὲ Ἴπποδαμείαν φασιν ἐς Μιδεάν τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι ἀποχωρησαι, ἅτε τοῦ Πέλοπος ἐπὶ τῷ Χρυσίππου θανάτῳ μάλιστα ἐς ἐκείνην ἔχοντας τὴν ὀργήν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ μαντείας κομίσαι φασὶ τῆς Ἴπποδαμείας τὰ ὅσα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν.<sup>1</sup>  
 8 ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἃ ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ.

against them, a woman came to the Elean generals, holding a baby to her breast, who said that she was the mother of the child but that she gave him, because of dreams, to fight for the Eleans. The Elean officers believed that the woman was to be trusted, and placed the child before the army naked. When the Arcadians came on, the child turned at once into a snake. Thrown into disorder at the sight, the Arcadians turned and fled, and were attacked by the Eleans, who won a very famous victory, and so call the god Sosipolis. On the spot where after the battle the snake seemed to them to go into the ground they made the sanctuary. With him the Eleans resolved to worship Eileithyia also, because this goddess to help them brought her son forth unto men. The tomb of the Arcadians who were killed in the battle is on the hill across the Cladeus to the west. Near to the sanctuary of Eileithyia are the remains of the sanctuary of Heavenly Aphrodite, and there too they sacrifice upon the altars.

There is within the Altis by the processional entrance the Hippodameium, as it is called, about a quarter of an acre of ground surrounded by a wall. Into it once every year the women may enter, who sacrifice to Hippodameia, and do her honour in other ways. The story is that Hippodameia withdrew to Midea in Argolis, because Pelops was very angry with her over the death of Chrysippus. The Eleans declare that subsequently, because of an oracle, they brought the bones of Hippodameia to Olympia. At the end of the statues which they made from the fines levied on

- ζημίαις ἐποιήσαντο ἀθλητῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ  
 πέρατί ἐστιν ἣν Κρυπτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν ἔσοδον·  
 διὰ δὲ αὐτῆς τοὺς τε Ἑλλανοδίκας ἐσιέναι<sup>1</sup> ἐς  
 τὸ στάδιον καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιστάς. τὸ μὲν δὴ  
 στάδιον γῆς χῶμά ἐστι, πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ  
 καθέδρα τοῖς τιθεῖσι τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἔστι δὲ ἀπαν-  
 τικρὺ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν βωμὸς λίθου λευκοῦ·  
 9 ἐπὶ τούτου καθεζομένη τοῦ βωμοῦ θεᾶται γυνὴ  
 τὰ Ὀλύμπια, ἰέρεια Δήμητρος Χαμύνης, τιμὴν  
 ταύτην ἄλλοτε ἄλλην λαμβάνουσα παρὰ Ἑλείων.  
 παρθένους δὲ οὐκ εἵργουσι θεᾶσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ  
 σταδίου τῷ πέρατι, ἣ τοῖς σταδιαδρόμοις ἄφεις  
 πεποιήται, Ἐνδυμίωνος μνῆμα ἐνταῦθα λόγῳ  
 Ἑλείων ἐστίν.
- 10 Ὑπερβάλλοντι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σταδίου, καθότι οἱ  
 Ἑλλανοδίκαί καθέζονται, κατὰ τοῦτο χωρίον ἐς  
 τῶν ἵππων ἀνειμένον τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ἡ ἄφεις  
 ἐστὶ τῶν ἵππων. παρέχεται μὲν οὖν σχῆμα ἡ  
 ἄφεις κατὰ πρῶραν νεώς, τέτραπται δὲ αὐτῆς  
 τὸ ἔμβολον ἐς τὸν δρόμον· καθότι δὲ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου  
 στοᾷ προσεχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ πρῶρα, κατὰ τοῦτο εὐρεῖα  
 γίνεται, δελφίς δὲ ἐπὶ κανόνιος κατὰ ἄκρον μάλιστα  
 11 τὸ ἔμβολον πεποιήται χαλκοῦς. ἑκατέρα μὲν δὴ  
 πλευρὰ τῆς ἀφέσεως πλεον ἢ τετρακοσίους πόδας  
 παρέχεται τοῦ μήκους, ὠκοδόμηται δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς  
 οἰκήματα· ταῦτα κλήρω τὰ οἰκήματα διαλαγχά-  
 νουσιν οἱ ἐσιόντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν ἵππων. πρὸ  
 δὲ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἡ καὶ ἵππων τῶν κελήτων, διήκει  
 πρὸ αὐτῶν καλῳδίον ἀντὶ ὕσπληγος· βωμὸς δὲ  
 ὠμῆς πλίνθου τὰ ἐκτὸς κεκοιμημένος ἐπὶ ἐκάστης  
 Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται κατὰ τὴν πρῶραν μάλιστά

<sup>1</sup> Some word like *καθέστηκεν* should be added here

## ELIS II, xx. 8-11

athletes, there is the entrance called the Hidden Entrance. Through it umpires and competitors are wont to enter the stadium. Now the stadium is an embankment of earth, and on it is a seat for the presidents of the games. Opposite the umpires is an altar of white marble, seated on this altar a woman looks on at the Olympic games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, which office the Eleans bestow from time to time on different women. Maidens are not debarred from looking on at the games. At the end of the stadium, where is the starting-place for the runners, there is, the Eleans say, the tomb of Endymion.

When you have passed beyond the stadium, at the point where the umpires sit, is a place set apart for the horse-races, and also the starting-place for the horses. The starting-place is in the shape of the prow of a ship, and its ram is turned towards the course. At the point where the prow adjoins the porch of Agnaptus it broadens, and a bronze dolphin on a rod has been made at the very point of the ram. Each side of the starting-place is more than four hundred feet in length, and in the sides are built stalls. These stalls are assigned by lot to those who enter for the races. Before the chariots or race-horses is stretched a cord as a barrier. An altar of unburnt brick, plastered on the outside, is made at every Festival as near as possible to the centre of the prow, and a bronze eagle stands on

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- 12 που μέσσην, αετός δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χαλκοῦς κεῖται τὰ πτερὰ ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐκτείνων. ἀνακινεῖ μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ βωμῷ μηχανήμα ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῷ δρόμῳ· ἀνακινήθεις δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἄνω πεποιήται πηδᾶν ὁ αετός, ὡς τοῖς ἤκουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν γενέσθαι σύνοπτος, ὁ δελφὶς δὲ ἐς
- 13 ἔδαφος πίπτει. πρῶται<sup>1</sup> μὲν δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν αἱ πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ τῇ Ἀγνάπτου χαλῶσιν ὑσπληγες, καὶ οἱ κατὰ ταύτας<sup>2</sup> ἐστηκότες ἐκθέουσιν ἵπποι πρῶτοι· θέοντές τε δὴ γίνονται κατὰ τοὺς εἰληχότας ἐστάναι τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν, καὶ τηνικαῦτα χαλῶσιν αἱ ὑσπληγες αἱ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τάξει· διὰ πάντων τε κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον συμβαίνει τῶν ἵππων, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξισωθῶσιν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τῆς πρώρας τὸ ἔμβολον· τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἤδη καθέστηκεν ἐπίδειξις ἐπιστήμης τε ἡνιόχων καὶ
- 14 ἵππων ὠκύτητος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Κλεοίτας ἐστὶν ἄφεςιν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ φρονῆσαι γε φαίνεται<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ εὐρήματι, ὡς καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἀνδριάντι τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπιγράψαι

ὃς τὴν ἱππάφεςιν ἐν<sup>4</sup> Ὀλυμπίᾳ εὐρατο πρῶτος,  
τευξέ με Κλεοίτας υἱὸς Ἀριστοκλέους.

Κλεοίτα δὲ φασιν ὕστερον Ἀριστείδην σοφίαν τινὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ μηχανήμα ἐσενέγκασθαι.

- 15 Παρεχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου παρήκουσαν ἐς πλεόν τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν πλευρῶν, ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος πλευρᾶς, οὔσης χώματος, κατὰ τὴν διέξοδον τὴν διὰ τοῦ χώματος τὸ τῶν ἵππων δεῖμα ὁ Ταραξίππος. σχῆμα μὲν βωμοῦ περιφεροῦς ἐστι, παραθέοντας δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τοὺς

the altar with his wings stretched out to the fullest extent. The man appointed to start the racing sets in motion the mechanism in the altar, and then the eagle has been made to jump upwards, so as to become visible to the spectators, while the dolphin falls to the ground. First on either side the barriers are withdrawn by the poich of Agnaptus, and the horses standing thereby run off first. As they run they reach those to whom the second station has been allotted, and then are withdrawn the barriers at the second station. The same thing happens to all the horses in turn, until at the ram of the prow they are all abreast. After this it is left to the charioteers to display their skill and the horses their speed. It was Cleoetas who originally devised the method of starting, and he appears to have been proud of the discovery, as on the statue at Athens he wrote the inscription:—

Who first invented the method of starting the  
horses at Olympia,

He made me, Cleoetas the son of Aristocles.

It is said that after Cleoetas some further device was added to the mechanism by Aristeides.

The race-course has one side longer than the other, and on the longer side, which is a bank, there stands, at the passage through the bank, Taraxippus, the terror of the horses. It has the shape of a round altar, and as they run along the horses

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have *πρῶτοι*.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS have *τούτους*.

<sup>3</sup> *φαίνεται* is not in the MSS, but has been added by Spiro.

<sup>4</sup> *ἐν* is not in the MSS

- ἵππους φόβος τε αὐτίκα ἰσχυρὸς ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς  
 προφάσεως φανερᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου λαμ-  
 βάνει ταραχή, τὰ τε δὴ ἄρματα καταγνύουσιν  
 ὡς ἐπίπαν καὶ οἱ ἡνίοχοι τιτρώσκονται· καὶ  
 τοῦδε ἡνίοχοι ἔνεκα θυσίας θύουσι καὶ γενέσθαι  
 16 σφίσιν ἵλεων εὐχονται τὸν Ταραξίππον. Ἑλ-  
 ληνες δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ νομίζουσιν ἐς τὸν  
 Ταραξίππον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εἶναι τάφον ἀνδρὸς  
 αὐτόχθονος καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τὰ ἐς ἵππικὴν—καὶ  
 ὄνομα Ὀλένιον αὐτῷ τίθενται, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν Ὀλενίαν ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ πέτραν φασὶν  
 ὀνομασθῆναι—οἱ δὲ τὸν Φλιούντος Δαμέωνα  
 μετασχόντα Ἡρακλεῖ τῆς ἐπὶ Αὐγέαν καὶ  
 Ἡλείους στρατείας αὐτὸν τε ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸν  
 ἵππον ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπωχεῖτο ὑπὸ Κτεάτου λέγουσι  
 τοῦ Ἀκτορος, καὶ τὸ μνῆμα κοινὸν Δαμέωνι καὶ  
 17 τῷ ἵππῳ γενέσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ὡς Μυρτίλῳ  
 κενὸν ἐνταῦθα ἡρίον ποιήσῃε Πέλοψ καὶ θύσειέ  
 τε αὐτῷ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ μῆνιμα ἰώμενος καὶ  
 ἐπονομάσαι Ταραξίππον, ὅτι τῷ Οἰνομάῳ διὰ  
 τοῦ Μυρτίλου τῆς τέχνης ἐταράχθησαν αἱ ἵπποι·  
 τοῖς δὲ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον ὡς αὐτὸς Οἰνόμαος ὁ  
 τοὺς ἵππεύοντάς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ βλάπτων.  
 ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν Πορθάονος Ἀλκάθουν  
 ἀγόντων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα μέρη λάβοι  
 γῆς ὁ Ἀλκάθους ἀποθανὼν ὑπὸ Οἰνομάου τῶν  
 Ἴπποδαμείας γάμων ἔνεκα· ἅτε δὲ ἀτυχήσαντα  
 ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, βάσκανόν τε εἶναι τοῖς ἵππεύουσι  
 18 καὶ οὐκ εὖμενῇ δαίμονα. ἀνὴρ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος  
 Πέλοπα ἔφη παρὰ τοῦ Θηβαίου λαβόντα Ἀμ-  
 φίονος κατορύξαι τι ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα καλοῦσι τὸν  
 Ταραξίππον, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κατορωρυγμένου ταρα-

are seized, as soon as they reach this point, by a great fear without any apparent reason. The fear leads to disorder, the chariots generally crash and the charioteers are injured. Consequently the charioteers offer sacrifice, and pray that Taraxippus may show himself propitious to them. The Greeks differ in their view of Taraxippus. Some hold that it is the tomb of an original inhabitant who was skilled in horsemanship; they call him Olenius, and say that after him was named the Olenian rock in the land of Elis. Others say that Dameon, son of Phlus, who took part in the expedition of Heracles against Augeas and the Eleans, was killed along with his charger by Cteatus the son of Actor, and that man and horse were buried in the same tomb. There is also a story that Pelops made here an empty mound in honour of Myrtilus, and sacrificed to him in an effort to calm the anger of the murdered man, naming the mound<sup>1</sup> Taraxippus (*Frightener of horses*) because the mares of Oenomaus were frightened by the trick of Myrtilus. Some say that it is Oenomaus himself who harms the racers in the course. I have also heard some attach the blame to Alcathus, the son of Poithaon. Killed by Oenomaus because he wooed Hippodameia, Alcathus, they say, here got his portion of earth; having been unsuccessful on the course, he is a spiteful and hostile deity to chariot-drivers. A man of Egypt said that Pelops received something from Amphion the Theban and buried it where is what they call Taraxippus, adding that it was the buried thing

<sup>1</sup> Or, "him."



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χθῆναι μὲν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τότε, ταρασσεσθαι δὲ  
 καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς πᾶσι τὰς ἵππους· ἡξίου δὲ  
 οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος εἶναι μὲν Ἀμφίονα, εἶναι δὲ καὶ  
 τὸν Θρᾷκα Ὀρφέα μαγεῦσαι δεινόν, καὶ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπάδουσι θηρία τε ἀφικνεῖσθαι τῷ Ὀρφεῖ καὶ  
 Ἀμφίονι ἐς τὰς τοῦ τείχους οἰκοδομίας τὰς  
 πέτρας. ὁ δὲ πιθανώτατος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῶν  
 λόγων Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ κλησιν εἶναι τοῦ Ἰππίου  
 19 φησίν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ Ταραξιππος  
 Γλαῦκος ὁ Σισύφου· γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν  
 τελευταίην λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅτε Ἀκαστος  
 τὰ ἄθλα ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί. ἐν Νεμέᾳ δὲ  
 τῇ Ἀργείῳ ἥρως μὲν ἦν οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἔβλαπτε  
 τοὺς ἵππους· πέτρας δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἵππων τὴν  
 καμπὴν ἀνεστηκυίας χροᾶν πυρρᾶς, ἣ ἀπ' αὐτῆς  
 αὐγὴ κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ εἰ πῦρ ἐνεποιεῖ φόβον τοῖς  
 ἵπποις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Ταραξιππος  
 πολὺ δὴ τι ὑπερηρκώς ἐστίν ἐς ἵππων φόβον.  
 ἐπὶ δὲ νύσσης μιᾶς Ἰπποδαμείας ἐστὶν εἰκὼν  
 χαλκῇ, ταινίαν τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἀναδεῖν τὸν  
 Πέλοπα μέλλουσα ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ.

XXI. Τὸ δὲ ἕτερον τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου μέρος οὐ  
 χῶμα γῆς ἐστίν, ὅρος δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν. ἐπὶ τῷ  
 πέρατι τοῦ ὅρους ἱερὸν πεποιήται Δήμητρι ἐπὶ-  
 κλησιν Χαμύνῃ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τὸ ὄνομα  
 ἡγνυται, χανεῖν γὰρ τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἄρμα  
 τοῦ Ἀιδου καὶ αὐθις μῦσαι· οἱ δὲ Χάμνον  
 ἄνδρα Πισαῖον Πανταλέοντι ἐναντιούμενον τῷ  
 Ὀμφαλίῳ τυραννοῦντι ἐν Πίσῃ καὶ ἀπόστασιν  
 βουλευόντι ἀπὸ Ἡλείων, ἀποθανεῖν φασιν αὐτὸν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαμύνου  
 τῆς οὐσίας τῇ Δήμητρι οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἱερόν.

which frightened the mares of Oenomaus, as well as those of every charioteer since. This Egyptian thought that Amphion and the Thracian Orpheus were clever magicians, and that it was through their enchantments that the beasts came to Orpheus, and the stones came to Amphion for the building of the wall. The most probable of the stories in my opinion makes Taraxippus a surname of Horse Poseidon. There is another Taraxippus at the Isthmus, namely Glaucus, the son of Sisyphus. They say that he was killed by his horses, when Acastus held his contests in honour of his father. At Nemea of the Argives there was no hero who harmed the horses, but above the turning-point of the chariots rose a rock, red in colour, and the flash from it terrified the horses, just as though it had been fire. But the Taraxippus at Olympia is much worse for terrifying the horses. On one turning-post is a bronze statue of Hippodameia carrying a ribbon, and about to crown Pelops with it for his victory.

XXI The other side of the course is not a bank of earth but a low hill. At the foot of the hill has been built a sanctuary to Demeter surnamed Chamyne. Some are of opinion that the name is old, signifying that here the earth gaped<sup>1</sup> for the chariot of Hades and then closed up<sup>2</sup> once more. Others say that Chamynus was a man of Pisa who opposed Pantaleon, the son of Omphalion and despot at Pisa, when he plotted to revolt from Elis; Pantaleon, they say, put him to death, and from his property was built the sanctuary to Demeter.

<sup>1</sup> χανεῖν (*chanerōn*)

<sup>2</sup> μύσαι (*mysai*).

2 ἀγάλματα δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων Κόρην καὶ  
Δήμητρα λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνέ-  
θηκεν Ἡρώδης.

Ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πεντάθλοις  
μὲν καθεστήκασιν ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δρομεῦσιν αἱ  
μελέται, κρηπὶς δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου πεποιή-  
ται· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τρόπαιον κατὰ Ἀρκάδων  
ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι εἰστήκει ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος  
ἐλάσσων περίβολος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς  
εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον, καὶ αἱ παλαιστραι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς  
εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα· τῆς στοᾶς δὲ τῆς πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα  
ἥλιον τοῦ γυμνασίου προσεχεῖς τῷ τοίχῳ τῶν  
ἀθλητῶν εἰσιν αἱ οἰκῆσεις, ἐπὶ τε ἄνεμον τετραμ-  
3 μέναι Λίβα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς. διαβάντων δὲ  
τὸν Κλάδεον τάφος τε Οἰνομάου γῆς χῶμα περιφ-  
κοδομημένον λίθοις ἐστὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μνήματος  
ἐρείπια οἰκοδομημάτων, ἔνθα τῷ Οἰνομάῳ τὰς  
ἵππους αὐλίζεσθαι λέγουσιν

Ὅροι δὲ πρὸς Ἀρκάδας τῆς χώρας τὰ μὲν  
παρόντα Ἡλείοις, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἱ αὐτοὶ  
Πισαίοις καθεστήκεσαν ἔχοντες κατὰ τάδε. δια-  
βάντων ποταμὸν Ἐρύμανθον κατὰ τὴν Σαύ-  
ρου καλουμένην δειράδα τοῦ Σαύρου τε μνῆμα  
καὶ ἱερόν ἐστιν Ἡρακλέους, ἐρείπια ἐφ' ἡμῶν·  
λέγουσι δὲ ὡς ὁδοιπόρους τε καὶ τοὺς προσοι-  
κούντας ὁ Σαῦρος ἐκακούργει, πρὶν ἢ παρὰ  
4 Ἡρακλέους τὴν δίκην ἔσχε. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν  
ἐπώνυμον τοῦ ληστοῦ δειράδα ποταμὸς ἀπὸ  
μεσημβρίας κατιὼν εἰς τὸν Ἀλφεῖον καταντικρὺν  
τοῦ Ἐρυμάνθου μάλιστα, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὴν  
Πισαίαν πρὸς Ἀρκάδας διορίζων, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ  
Διάγων. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαύρου δει-

In place of the old images of the Maid and of Demeter new ones of Pentelic marble were dedicated by Herodes the Athenian

In the gymnasium at Olympia it is customary for pentathletes and runners to practise, and in the open has been made a basement of stone. Originally there stood on the basement a trophy to commemorate a victory over the Arcadians. There is also another enclosure, less than this, to the left of the entrance to the gymnasium, and the athletes have their wrestling-schools here. Adjoining the wall of the eastern porch of the gymnasium are the dwellings of the athletes, turned towards the south-west. On the other side of the Cladeus is the grave of Oenomaus, a mound of earth with a stone wall built round it, and above the tomb are ruins of buildings in which Oenomaus is said to have stabled his mares.

The boundaries which now separate Arcadia and Elis originally separated Arcadia from Pisa, and are thus situated. On crossing the river Erymanthus at what is called the ridge of Saurus are the tomb of Saurus and a sanctuary of Heracles, now in ruins. The story is that Saurus used to do mischief to travellers and to dwellers in the neighbourhood until he received his punishment at the hands of Heracles. At this ridge, which has the same name as the robber, a river, falling into the Alpheius from the south, just opposite the Erymanthus, is the boundary between the land of Pisa and Arcadia, it is called the Diagon. Forty stades beyond the ridge of

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- ράδος προελθόντι στάδια ἔστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναός,  
 ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δημαινέτου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδρυσαμένου,  
 ἐρείπια δὲ καὶ αὐτός· ὤκοδομήθη δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 5 ὑψηλοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφειόν. τούτου δὲ οὐ πόρρω  
 ἱερὸν Διονύσου Λευκνανίτου πεποιήται, καὶ ποτα-  
 μὸς παρέξεισι ταύτῃ Λευκνανίας· ἐκδίδωσι μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Ἀλφειόν, κάτεισι δὲ ἐκ  
 Φολῆς τοῦ ὄρους. διαβήσῃ τε δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ ἐντὸς γῆς ἔσῃ τῆς Πισαίας  
 6 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ λόφος ἔστιν ἀνῆκων ἐς  
 ὄξύ, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πόλεως Φρίξας ἐρείπια καὶ  
 Ἀθηνᾶς ἔστιν ἐπὶ κλησιν Κυδωνίας ναός. οὗτος  
 μὲν οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐστὶ σῶς, βωμὸς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ  
 ἔτι· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ τῇ θεῷ τὸ ἱερὸν Κλύμενόν  
 φασιν ἀπόγονον Ἑρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, παρα-  
 γενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Κυδωνίας τῆς Κρητικῆς  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἰαρδάνου ποταμοῦ. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ  
 Πέλοπα οἱ Ἥλειοι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θῦσαι τῇ Κυδωνίᾳ  
 πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα αὐτὸν τῷ Οἰνομάῳ καθίς-  
 7 τασθαι προιόντι δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τό τε ὕδωρ τῆς  
 Παρθενίας ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τάφος  
 ἵππων τῶν Μάρμακος· Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ μνηστῆρα  
 ἔχει λόγος ἀφικέσθαι πρῶτον τοῦτον Μάρμακα  
 καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων,  
 ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἵπποις Παρθενίαν τε εἶναι  
 καὶ Ἑρίφαν—Οἰνόμαον δὲ ἐπικατασφάζει μὲν  
 τὰς ἵππους τῷ Μάρμακι, μεταδούναι μέντοι καὶ  
 ταύταις ταφῆναι—, καὶ ὄνομα Παρθενίας τῷ  
 8 ποταμῷ ἀπὸ ἵππου τῆς Μάρμακος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλος Ἀρπινάτης καλούμενος ποταμὸς καὶ οὐ  
 πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλεως Ἀρπίνης ἄλλα  
 τε ἐρείπια καὶ μάλιστα οἱ βωμοί· οἰκίσαι δὲ

## ELIS II, xvi. 4-8

Saurus is a temple of Asclepius, surnamed Demaenetus after the founder. It too is in ruins. It was built on the height beside the Alpheius. Not far from it is a sanctuary of Dionysus Leucyanites, whereby flows a river Leucyanias. This river too is a tributary of the Alpheius, it descends from Mount Pholoe. Crossing the Alpheius after it you will be within the land of Pisa.

In this district is a hill rising to a sharp peak, on which are the ruins of the city of Phrixa, as well as a temple of Athena surnamed Cydonian. This temple is not entire, but the altar is still there. The sanctuary was founded for the goddess, they say, by Clymenus, a descendant of Idaean Heracles, and he came from Cydonia in Crete and from the river Jardanus. The Eleans say that Pelops too sacrificed to Cydonian Athena before he set about his contest with Oenomaus. Going on from this point you come to the water of Parthenia, and by the river is the grave of the mares of Marmax. The story has it that this Marmax was the first suitor of Hippodameia to arrive, and that he was killed by Oenomaus before the others; that the names of his mares were Parthenia and Eripha; that Oenomaus slew the mares after Marmax, but granted burial to them also, and that the river received the name Parthenia from the mare of Marmax. There is another river called Harpinates, and not far from the river are, among the other ruins of a city Harpina, its altars. The city was founded,

Οἰνόμαον τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς λέγουσιν Ἀρπίνης.

- 9 Προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ γῆς χῶμά ἐστιν ὑψηλόν, τῶν μνηστήρων τῶν Ἴπποδαμείας τάφος. Οἰνόμαον μὲν οὖν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων κρύπτειν γῆ φασιν οὐκ ἐπιφανῶς αὐτούς· Πέλοψ δὲ ὕστερον μνῆμα ἐν κοινῷ σφισιν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρε τιμῇ τῇ ἐς αὐτούς καὶ Ἴπποδαμείας χάριτι, δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ὄσων τε καὶ οἷων τὸν Οἰνόμαον κρατήσαντα ἐνίκησεν αὐτός.
- 10 ἀπέθανον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου κατὰ τὰ ἔπη τὰς μεγάλας Ἑοίας Ἀλκάθους ὁ Πορθάονος, δεύτερος οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ Μάρμακι, μετὰ δὲ Ἀλκάθουν Εὐρύαλος καὶ Εὐρύμαχος τε καὶ Κρόταλος· τούτων μὲν οὖν γονέας τε καὶ πατρίδας οὐχ οἶά τε ἦν πυθέσθαι μοι, τὸν δὲ ἀποθανόντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἀκρίαν τεκμαίροιτο ἂν τις Λακεδαιμόνιον τε εἶναι καὶ οἰκιστὴν Ἀκριῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀκρίᾳ Κάπετόν φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάου φονευθῆναι καὶ Λυκοῦργον Λάσιόν τε καὶ Χαλκῶδοντα καὶ Τρικύλωνον· ἀπόγονον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ὁμῶνυμον Τρικολῶνι τῷ Λυκάονος λέγουσιν οἱ
- 11 Ἀρκάδες. Τρικολῶνον δὲ ὕστερον ἐπέλαβεν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸ χρεὼν Ἀριστόμαχόν τε καὶ Πρίαντα, ἔτι δὲ Πελάγοντα καὶ Αἰόλιόν τε καὶ Κρόνιον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαριθμοῦσι τοῖς κατειλεγμένοις Ἐρύθραν παῖδα Λεύκωνος τοῦ Ἀθάμαντος—ἀπὸ τούτου Ἐρυθραὶ πόλις ἐκαλεῖτο Βοιωτῶν—καὶ Ἡιονέα Μάγνητος τοῦ Αἰόλου. τούτοις μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι τὸ μνῆμα, καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα, ἡνίκα τῶν Πισαίων ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, φασὶν ἐναγίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.

they say, by Oenomaus, who named it after his mother Haipina.

A little farther on is a high mound of earth, the grave of the suitors of Hippodameia. Now Oenomaus, they say, laid them in the ground near one another with no token of respect. But afterwards Pelops raised a high monument to them all, to honour them and to please Hippodameia. I think too that Pelops wanted a memorial to tell posterity the number and character of the men vanquished by Oenomaus before Pelops himself conquered him. According to the epic poem called the *Great Eoëæ* the next after Marmax to be killed by Oenomaus was Alcathus, son of Porthaon, after Alcathus came Euryalus, Euiymachus and Crotalus. Now the parents and fatherlands of these I was unable to discover, but Acrias, the next after them to be killed, one might guess to have been a Lacedaemonian and the founder of Acriae. After Acrias they say that Oenomaus slew Capetus, Lycurgus, Lasius, Chalcodon and Tricolonus, who, according to the Alcadians, was the descendant and namesake of Tricolonus, the son of Lycaon. After Tricolonus there met their fate in the race Aristomachus and Prias, and then Pelagon, Aeolius and Cronius. Some add to the aforesaid Erythras, the son of Leucon, the son of Athamas, after whom was named Erythrae in Boeotia, and Eioneus, the son of Magnes the son of Aeolus. These are the men whose monument is here, and Pelops, they say, sacrificed every year to them as heroes, when he had won the sovereignty of Pisa.



- XXII Προελθόντι δὲ ὅσον τε στάδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου σημειῖά ἐστιν ἱεροῦ Κορδάκας ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅτι οἱ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἀκόλουθοι τὰ ἐπινίκια ἤγαγον παρὰ τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ἐπιχώριον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σίπυλον κόρδακα ὄρχησιν. τοῦ ἱεροῦ δὲ οὐ πόρρω οἴκημά τε οὐ μέγα καὶ κιβωτός ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ χαλκῇ· ὅστ᾽ αὖ τὰ Πέλοπος ἐν τῇ κιβωτῇ φυλάσσουσι. τείχους δὲ ἢ ἄλλου κατασκευάσματος ἐλείπετο οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἅμπελοι δὲ ἦσαν διὰ τοῦ χωρίου πεφυτευμέναι
- 2 παντός, ἔνθα ἢ Πίσσα ὤκειτο οἰκιστὴν μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει Πίσσον τὸν Περιήρους φασὶ τοῦ Αἰόλου· Πισαῖοι δὲ ἐφειλκύσαντο αὐθαίρετον συμφορὰν ἀπεχθανόμενοί τε Ἡλείοις καὶ σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι τιθέναι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα ἀντὶ Ἡλείων, οἷγε Ὀλυμπιάδι μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἐπηγάγοντο Φεῖδωνα τυράννων τῶν ἐν Ἑλληνισι μάλιστα ὑβρίσαντα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἔθεσαν ὁμοῦ τῷ Φεῖδωνι, τετάρτῃ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδι καὶ τριακοστῇ στρατὸν οἱ Πισαῖοι καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Πανταλέων ὁ Ὀμφαλίωνος παρὰ τῶν προσχώρων ἀθροί-
- 3 σαντες ἐποίησαν ἀντὶ Ἡλείων τὰ Ὀλύμπια ταύτας τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ ἑκατοστὴν, τεθεῖσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, Ἀνολυμπιάδας οἱ Ἡεῖοι καλοῦντες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς τεσσαράκοντα Ὀλυμπιάδι Δαμοφῶν ὁ Πανταλέοντος ὑπόνοιαν μὲν τινα παρέσχεν Ἡλείοις νεώτερα ἐς αὐτοὺς βουλευεῖν, ἐσβαλόντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Πισαίαν σὺν ὅπλοις ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἀπράκ-
- 4 τούς ἔπεισε δεήσεσί τε καὶ ὅρκοις Πύρρου δὲ τοῦ Πανταλέοντος μετὰ Δαμοφῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν

XXII Going forward about a stade from the grave one sees traces of a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Cordax because the followers of Pelops celebrated their victory by the side of this goddess and danced the *cordax*, a dance peculiar to the dwellers round Mount Sipylus. Not far from the sanctuary is a small building containing a bronze chest, in which are kept the bones of Pelops. Of the wall and of the rest of the building there were no remains, but vines were planted over all the district where Pisa stood. The founder of the city, they say, was Pisus, the son of Penieres, the son of Aeolus. The people of Pisa brought of themselves disaster on their own heads by their hostility to the Eleans, and by their keenness to preside over the Olympic games instead of them. At the eighth Festival they brought in Pheidon of Argos, 748 E the most overbearing of the Greek tyrants, and held the games along with him, while at the thirty-fourth Festival the people of Pisa, with their king 644 E Pantaleon the son of Omphalion, collected an army from the neighbourhood, and held the Olympic games instead of the Eleans. These Festivals, as well as the hundred and fourth, which was held 364 E by the Arcadians, are called "Non-Olympiads" by the Eleans, who do not include them in a list of Olympiads. At the forty-eighth Festival, Damophon 588 E the son of Pantaleon gave the Eleans reasons for suspecting that he was intriguing against them, but when they invaded the land of Pisa with an army he persuaded them by prayers and oaths to return quietly home again. When Pyrrhus, the son of Pantaleon, succeeded his brother Damophon as king,

# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

βασιλεύσαντος Πισαῖοι πόλεμον ἐκούσιον ἐπανεί-  
 λοντο Ἡλείοις, συναπέστησαν δέ σφισιν ἀπὸ  
 Ἡλείων Μακίστιοι καὶ Σκιλλούντιοι, οὗτοι μὲν  
 ἐκ τῆς Τριφυλίας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων περιοίκων  
 Δυσπόντιοι· τούτοις καὶ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς Πισαίους  
 οἰκεῖα ἦν, καὶ οἰκιστὴν Δυσποντέα γενέσθαι σφίσιν  
 Οἰνομάου παῖδα ἐμνημόνευον. Πισαίους μὲν δὴ  
 καὶ ὅσοι τοῦ πολέμου Πισαίοις μετέσχον, ἐπέλα-  
 5 βεν ἀναστάτους ὑπὸ Ἡλείων γενέσθαι· Πύλου  
 δὲ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ δῆλα τὰ ἐρείπια κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας ἐστὶν ἐς Ἥλιν ὁρεινὴν ὁδόν, ὀγδοή-  
 κοντα δὲ στάδια ἐς Ἥλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Πύλου. ταύ-  
 την τὴν Πύλον ᾤκισε μὲν κατὰ τὰ ἤδη λελεγμένα  
 μοι Μεγαρεὺς ἀνὴρ Πύλων ὁ Κλήσωνος· γενομένη  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀνάστατος καὶ αὐθις ἐπισυνoi-  
 κισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἡλείων, ἔμελλεν ἀνὰ χρόνον οὐχ  
 ἔξειν οἰκήτορας. παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ποταμὸς Λάδων  
 6 κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πηνειόν. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ Ἡλείοι  
 καὶ ἔπος ἐς τὴν Πύλον ταύτην ἔχειν τῶν Ὀμήρου,

γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῦ

Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅστ' εὐρὺ ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης,

καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπειθον λέγοντες· ῥεῖ γὰρ δὴ διὰ τῆς  
 χώρας ταύτης ὁ Ἀλφειός, ἐς δὲ ἄλλην Πύλον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὸ ἔπος· Πυλίων γὰρ τῶν  
 ὑπὲρ νήσου τῆς Σφακτηρίας οὐ πέφυκεν ἀρχὴν  
 διοδοεῖν τὴν γῆν ὁ Ἀλφειός, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐν  
 τῇ Ἀρκάδων Πύλον ποτὲ ὀνομασθεῖσαν ἴσμεν  
 πόλιν.

7 Ἀπέχει δὲ ὥς πεντήκοντα Ὀλυμπίας σταδίους  
 κῶμη τε Ἰπλείων Ἰράκλεια καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ  
 Κύθηρος ποταμός· πηγὴ δὲ ἐκδιδούσα ἐς τὸν

## ELIS II, XXII. 4-7

the people of Pisa of their own accord made war against Elis, and were joined in their revolt from the Eleans by the people of Macistus and Scillus, which are in Triphylia, and by the people of Dyspontium, another vassal community. The last were closely related to the people of Pisa, and it was a tradition of theirs that their founder had been Dysponteus the son of Oenomaus. It was the fate of Pisa, and of all her allies, to be destroyed by the Eleans. Of Pylus in the land of Elis the ruins are to be seen on the mountain road from Olympia to Elis, the distance between Elis and Pylus being eighty stades. This Pylus was founded, as I have already said,<sup>1</sup> by Megon called Pylon, the son of Cleson. Destroyed by the Eleans and refounded by the Eleans, the city was doomed in time to be without inhabitants. Beside it the river Ladon flows into the Peneus. The Eleans declare that there is a reference to this Pylus in the passage of Homer —<sup>2</sup>

And he was descended from the river  
Alpheus, that in broad stream flows through the  
land of the Pylians.

The Eleans convinced me that they are right. For the Alpheus does flow through this district, and the passage cannot refer to another Pylus. For the land of the Pylians over against the island Sphacteria simply cannot in the nature of things be crossed by the Alpheus, and, moreover, we know of no city in Arcadia named Pylus.

Distant from Olympia about fifty stades is Heracleia, a village of the Eleans, and beside it is a river Cytherus. A spring flows into the river,

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. xxxvi, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *Iliad* v. 544.

ποταμὸν καὶ νυμφῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πηγῇ. ὀνόματα δὲ ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκάστη τῶν νυμφῶν Καλλιφάεια καὶ Συνάλλασις καὶ Πηγαία τε καὶ Ἰασις, ἐν κοινῷ δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ κλησις Ἰωνίδες. λουομένοις δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγημάτων παντοίων ἰάματα· καλεῖσθαι δὲ τὰς νύμφας ἀπὸ Ἰωνος λέγουσι τοῦ Γαργηττοῦ, μετοικήσαντος ἐνταῦθα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.

- 8 Εἰ δὲ ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἥλιν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου θελήσειας, σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς Λετρίνους ἔξεις, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ ἐκ Λετρίνων καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ Ἥλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πόλισμα ἦν οἱ Λετρίνοι, καὶ Λετρεὺς ὁ Πέλοπος ἐγεγόνει σφίσιν οἰκιστής· ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ οἰκήματά τε ἐλείπετο ὀλίγα καὶ
- 9 Ἀλφειαίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ναῷ γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε· ἐρασθῆναι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ἐρασθέντα δέ, ὥς ἐπέγνω μὴ γενήσεσθαι οἱ διὰ πειθοῦς καὶ δεήσεως τὸν γάμον, ἐπιτολμᾶν ὥς βιασόμενον τὴν θεόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς παννυχίδα ἐς Λετρίνους ἐλθεῖν ὑπὸ αὐτῆς τε ἀγομένην τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ νυμφῶν αἷς παίζουσα συνῆν· τὴν δὲ—ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γάρ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἔχειν—ἀλείψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον πηλῷ καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ ὅσαι τῶν νυμφῶν παρήσαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειόν, ὥς ἐσῆλθεν, οὐκ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίναι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν, ἅτε δὲ οὐ διαγινώσκοντα
- 10 ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ ἀπράκτῳ τῷ ἐγχειρήματι. Λετριναῖοι μὲν δὴ Ἀλφειαίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῷ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι· οἱ δὲ Ἥλείοι—φιλία γάρ σφισιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς Λετριναίους—τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν Ἀρτέμιδι ἐς τιμὴν τῇ

and there is a sanctuary of nymphs near the spring. Individually the names of the nymphs are Calliphaeia, Synallasis, Pegaea and Iasis, but their common surname is the Ionides. Those who bathe in the spring are cured of all sorts of aches and pains. They say that the nymphs are named after Ion, the son of Gaigettus, who migrated to this place from Athens.

If you wish to go to Elis through the plain, you will travel one hundred and twenty stades to Letrini, and one hundred and eighty from Letrini to Elis. Originally Letrini was a town, and Letreus the son of Pelops was its founder, but in my time were left a few buildings, with an image of Artemis Alpheiaea in a temple. Legend has it that the goddess received the surname for the following reason. Alpheus fell in love with Artemis, and then, realising that persuasive entreaties would not win the goddess as his bride, he dared to plot violence against her. Artemis was holding at Letrini an all night revel with the nymphs who were her playmates, and to it came Alpheus. But Artemis had a suspicion of the plot of Alpheus, and smeared with mud her own face and the faces of the nymphs with her. So Alpheus, when he joined the throng, could not distinguish Artemis from the others, and, not being able to pick her out, went away without bringing off his attempt. The people of Letrini called the goddess Alpheian because of the love of Alpheus for her. But the Eleans, who from the first had been friends of Letrini, transferred to that city the worship of Artemis Elaphiaea established

Ἐλαφιαία καθεστηκότα ἐς Λετρίνους τε μετή-  
 γαγον καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐνόμισαν τῇ Ἀλφειαίᾳ  
 11 δρᾶν, καὶ οὕτω τὴν Ἀλφειαίαν θεὸν Ἐλαφιαίαν  
 δὲ ἐκάλουν οἱ Ἥλαιοι τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἐλάφων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τῇ θήρᾳ· αὐτοὶ δὲ γυναικὸς  
 ἐπιχωρίας ὄνομα εἶναι τὴν Ἐλάφιον καὶ ὑπὸ  
 ταύτης τραφῆναι τὴν Ἀρτεμίν φασι. Λετρίνων  
 δὲ ὅσον τε ἕξ ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἄεναος  
 λίμνη τριῶν πού τὴν διάμετρον σταδίων μάλιστα.

XXIII. Ἐν δὲ Ἡλιδι τὰ ἄξια μνήμης γυμ-  
 νασίον ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον· καὶ ὅσα ἐς τοὺς ἀθλητὰς  
 πρὶν ἢ ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἐν  
 τούτῳ σφίσι τῷ γυμνασίῳ δρᾶν καθέστηκε. πλά-  
 τανοι μὲν ὑψηλαὶ διὰ τῶν δρόμων πεφύκασιν  
 ἐντὸς τοίχου· ὁ σύμπας δὲ οὗτος περίβολος  
 καλεῖται Ξυστός, ὅτι Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος  
 ἐς ἄσκησιν ἐγένετο, ὅσαι τῶν ἀκανθῶν ἐφύοντο  
 2 ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ ἐκάστη ἡμέρᾳ σφᾶς ἀναξύνειν. χωρὶς  
 μὲν δὴ ἐς ἄμιλλαν τῶν δρομέων ἐστὶν ἀποκε-  
 κριμένος δρόμος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 ἱερός, χωρὶς δὲ ἔνθα ἐπὶ μελέτῃ δρομεῖς καὶ οἱ  
 πένταθλοι θεοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ  
 καλούμενον Πλέθριον· ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ συμβάλλουσιν  
 οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι τοὺς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἢ καὶ αὐτῷ  
 διαφέροντας τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι· συμβάλλουσι δὲ  
 3 ἐπὶ πάλῃ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ θεῶν ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ  
 βωμοί, Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἰδαίου, Παραστάτου δὲ  
 ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ Ἐρωτος καὶ ὃν Ἥλαιοι καὶ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ ταῦτα Ἥλείοις Ἀντέρωτα ὀνο-  
 μάζουσι, Δήμητρός τε καὶ τῆς παιδός. Ἀχιλλεῖ  
 δὲ οὐ βωμός, κενὸν δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μνῆμα ἐκ

amongst themselves, and held that they were worshipping Artemis Alpheiaea, and so in time the Alpheiaean goddess came to be named Elaphiaea. The Eleans, I think, called Artemis Elaphiaea from the hunting of the deer (*elaphos*). But they themselves say that Elaphius was the name of a native woman by whom Artemis was reared. About six stades distant from Letium is a lake that never dries up, being just about three stades across.

XXIII One of the noteworthy things in Elis is an old gymnasium. In this gymnasium the athletes are wont to go through the training through which they must pass before going to Olympia. High plane-trees grow between the tracks inside a wall. The whole of this enclosure is called Xystus, because an exercise of Heracles, the son of Amphitryo, was to scrape up (*anaxuēn*) each day all the thistles that grew there. The track for the competing runners, called by the natives the Sacred Track, is separate from that on which the runners and pentathletes practise. In the gymnasium is the place called Plethrum. In it the umpires match the competitors according to age and skill, it is for wrestling that they match them. There are also in the gymnasium altars of the gods, of Idaean Heracles, surnamed Comrade, of Love, of the deity called by Eleans and Athenians alike Love Returned, of Demeter and of her daughter. Achilles has no altar, only a cenotaph raised to him because of an



## ELIS II, AXIII. 3-7

oracle. On an appointed day at the beginning of the festival, when the course of the sun is sinking towards the west, the Elean women do honour to Achilles, especially by bewailing him.

There is another enclosed gymnasium, but smaller, adjoining the larger one and called Square because of its shape. Here the athletes practise wrestling, and here, when they have no more wrestling to do, they are matched in contests with the softer gloves. There is also dedicated here one of the images made in honour of Zeus out of the fines imposed upon Sosander of Smyrna and upon Polyctor of Elis. There is also a third enclosed gymnasium, called Maltho from the softness of its floor, and reserved for the youths for the whole time of the festival. In a corner of the Maltho is a bust of Heracles as far as the shoulders, and in one of the wrestling-schools is a relief showing Love and Love Returned, as he is called. Love holds a palm-branch, and Love Returned is trying to take the palm from him. On each side of the entrance to the Maltho stands an image of a boy boxer. He was by birth, so the Guardian of the Laws at Elis told me, from Alexandria over against the island Phaios, and his name was Sarapion; arriving at Elis when the townsfolk were suffering from famine he supplied them with food. For this reason these honours were paid him here. The time of his crown at Olympia and of his benefaction to the Eleans was the two hundred and seventeenth Festival. In this gymnasium is also the A.D. 88

## PAUSANIAS · DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Ἡλείοις, καὶ ἐπιδείξεις ἐνταῦθα λόγων τε αὐτο-  
σχεδίων καὶ συγγραμμάτων ποιοῦνται παντοίων·  
καλεῖται δὲ Λαλίχμιον τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπώνυμον.  
περὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἀσπίδες ἀνάκεινται, θέας ἕνεκα καὶ  
οὐκ ἐς ἔργον πολέμου πεποιημέναι.

- 8 Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γυμνασίου πρὸς τὰ λουτρὰ ἐρχο-  
μένῳ δι' ἀγυιᾶς τε ἢ ὁδὸς Σιωπῆς καὶ παρὰ τὸ  
ἱερὸν τῆς Φιλομείρακος ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος. τῇ  
μὲν δὴ θεῇ γέγονεν ἡ ἐπὶ κλησις ἅτε τοῦ γυμνασίου  
γείτονι· τῇ ἀγυιᾷ δὲ Σιωπῇ ὄνομα ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε  
τεθῆναι λέγουσιν. ἄνδρες τοῦ Ὀξύλου στρατεύ-  
ματος ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν Ἡλιδι ἀποπεμφ-  
θέντες καὶ ἀλλήλοις διακελευσάμενοι κατὰ τὴν  
ὁδόν, ἐπειδὰν πλησίον γίνωνται τοῦ τείχους,  
φθέγγεσθαι μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι αὐτοί, ἐπακροᾶσθαι  
δὲ εἴ τι παρὰ τῶν ἐντὸς πυθέσθαι δυνήσονται,  
οὗτοι λαυθάνουσι παρελθόντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν κατὰ  
τὴν ἀγυιὰν ταύτην καὶ ἐπακούσαντες ὅποσα ἐβού-  
λοντο ἐπανίασιν αὐθις ἐς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ ἡ  
ἀγυιὰ τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφεν ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων  
τῆς σιωπῆς.

XXIV. Ἐτέρα δὲ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου  
φέρει μὲν ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλανο-  
δικαιῶνα καλούμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως  
τὸν τάφον· καὶ ταύτῃ τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἵεναι  
καθέστηκεν ἐς τὸ γυμνάσιον. ἐσίασι δὲ πρὶν  
μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχειν συμβαλοῦντες δρομέας, μεσού-  
σης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τὸ πένταθλον καὶ ὅσα  
βαρέα ἄθλα ὀνομάζουσιν.

- 2 Ἡ δὲ ἀγορὰ τοῖς Ἡλείοις οὐ κατὰ τὰς Ἰώνων  
καὶ ὅσαι πρὸς Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεις εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων,  
τρόπῳ δὲ πεποιήται τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ στοαῖς τε  
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## ELIS II, LXIII. 7-XXIV. 2

Elean Council House, where take place exhibitions of extempore speeches and recitations of written works of all kinds. It is called Lalichmium, after the man who dedicated it. About it are dedicated shields, which are for show and not made to be used in war.

The way from the gymnasium to the baths passes through the Street of Silence and beside the sanctuary of Artemis Philomenax. The goddess is so surnamed because she is neighbour to the gymnasium; the street received, they say, the name of Silence for the following reason. Men of the army of Oxylus were sent to spy out what was happening in Elis. On the way they exhorted each other, when they should be near the wall, themselves to keep a strict silence, but to listen attentively if perchance they might learn aught from the people in the town. These men by this street reached the town unobserved, and after hearing all they wished they went back again to the Aetolians. So the street received its name from the silence of the spies.

XXIV. One of the two ways from the gymnasium leads to the market-place, and to what is called the Umpires' Room; it is above the grave of Achilles, and by it the umpires are wont to go to the gymnasium. They enter before sunrise to match the runners, and at midday for the pentathlon and for such contests as are called heavy.

The market-place of Elis is not after the fashion of the cities of Ionia and of the Greek cities near Ionia; it is built in the older manner, with porticoes

- ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων διεστώσαις καὶ ἀγυιαῖς δι' αὐτῶν.  
ὄνομα δὲ τῇ ἀγορᾷ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν Ἴππό-  
δρομος, καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοὺς ἵππους παιδεύουσιν  
ἐνταῦθα. τῶν στοῶν δὲ ἡ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν  
ἐργασίας ἐστὶ τῆς Δωρίου, διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν  
ἐς μοῖρας τρεῖς οἱ κίονες· ἐν ταύτῃ διημερεύουσι  
3 τὰ πολλὰ οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι ποιοῦνται δὲ πρὸς  
αὐτοῖς καὶ βωμοὺς τῷ Δίῃ, καὶ εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ  
ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οἱ βωμοὶ πλήθος οὐ πολλοί·  
καταλύονται γὰρ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἅτε αὐτοσχεδίως  
οἰκοδομούμενοι. κατὰ ταύτην τὴν στοᾶν ἰόντι  
ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ πέρας  
τῆς στοᾶς ὁ Ἑλλανοδικαίων· ἀγυιὰ δὲ ἡ διείρ-  
γουσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐστὶν αὐτόν. ἐν τούτῳ  
τῷ Ἑλλανοδικαίωνι οἰκοῦσι δέκα ἐφεξῆς μῆνας οἱ  
αἰρεθέντες ἑλλανοδικεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων  
ὅσα ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα σφᾶς δεῖ ποιεῖν διδάσκονται.
- 4 Τῇ στοᾷ δὲ ἔνθα οἱ Ἑλλανοδίκαι διημερεύουσιν  
ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς ἄλλη στοᾷ τὸ μεταξὺ αὐτῶν ἀγυιὰ  
μία. ταύτην ὀνομάζουσι Κορκυραϊκὴν οἱ Ἥλείοι  
ναυσὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν σφετέραν Κορκυραίους ἐλθόντας<sup>1</sup>  
\* \* \* ἐλάσαι μοῖραν τῆς λείας λέγοντες λαβεῖν τε  
ἐκ τῆς Κορκυραίων πολλαπλάσια καὶ οἰκοδο-  
μήσασθαι τὴν στοᾶν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῆς  
5 δεκάτης. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ κατασκευὴ τῆς στοᾶς Δώριος  
καὶ διπλῇ, τῇ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοὺς κίονας, τῇ  
δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔχουσα· κατὰ μέσον  
δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ κίονες, ἀλλὰ τοῖχος ὁ ταύτῃ τὸν  
ὄροφον ἀνέχων ἐστίν, ἀνάκεινται δὲ καὶ εἰκόνες  
ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ. κατὰ δὲ τῆς στοᾶς  
τὸ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἕστηκε Πύρρωνος τοῦ Πιστο-  
κράτους εἰκόν, σοφιστοῦ τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐς βέβαιον

separated from each other and with streets through them. The modern name of the market-place is Hippodromus, and the natives train their horses there. Of the porticoes the southern is in the Doric style, and it is divided by the pillars into three parts. In it the umpires generally spend the day. At the pillars they also cause altars to be made to Zeus, and in the open market-place are the altars, in number not many, for, their construction being improvised, they are without difficulty taken to pieces. As you enter the market-place at this portico the Umpires' Room is on your left, parallel to the end of the portico. What separates it from the market-place is a street. In this Umpires' Room dwell for ten consecutive months the umpires elect, who are instructed by the Guardians of the Law as to their duties at the festival.

Near to the portico where the umpires pass the day is another portico, between the two being one street. The Eleans call it the Corcyrean, because, they say, the Corcyreans landed in their country and carried off part of the booty, but they themselves took many times as much booty from the land of the Corcyreans, and built the portico from the tithe of the spoils. The portico is in the Doric style and double, having its pillars both on the side towards the market-place and on the side away from it. Down the centre of it the roof is supported, not by pillars, but by a wall, beside which on either side have been dedicated statues. On the side of the portico towards the market-place stands a statue of Pyrilon, son of Pistocrates, a sophist who never

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<sup>1</sup> There is a gap in the MSS here

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ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καταστάντος. ἔστι  
 δὲ καὶ μνημα τῷ Πύρρῳ οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ Ἡλείων  
 ἄστεως. Πέτρα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγεται  
 6 δὲ ὡς ἡ Πέτρα δῆμος εἴη τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἡλείοις  
 δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα  
 ναὸς ἔστι καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀκεσίου.  
 σημαῖνοι δ' ἂν τὸ ὄνομα οὐδέν τι ἀλλοῖον ἢ ὁ  
 καλούμενος Ἀλεξίκακος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ἐτέρῳθι  
 δὲ Ἡλίῳ πεποιήται καὶ Σελήνῃ λίθου τὰ ἀγάλ-  
 ματα, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοῦ  
 δὲ αἰ ἀκτῖνες ἀνέχουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Χάρισιν  
 ἱερὸν καὶ ξόανα ἐπίχρυσα τὰ ἐς ἐσθῆτα, πρόσωπα  
 δὲ καὶ χεῖρες καὶ πόδες λίθου λευκοῦ. ἔχουσι δὲ  
 ἡ μὲν αὐτῶν ῥόδον, ἀστράγαλον δὲ ἡ μέση, καὶ  
 7 ἡ τρίτη κλῶνα οὐ μέγαν μυρσίνης. ἔχειν δὲ  
 αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε εἰκάζοι τις ἂν τὰ εἰρημένα, ῥόδον  
 μὲν καὶ μυρσίνην Ἀφροδίτης τε ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ  
 οἰκεῖα τῷ ἐς Ἀδωνιν λόγῳ, Χάριτας δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 μάλιστα φίλας<sup>1</sup> εἶναι θεῶν. ἀστράγαλον δὲ μει-  
 ρακίων τε καὶ παρθένων, οἷς ἄχαρι οὐδέν πω  
 πρόσσεστιν ἐκ γήρως, τούτων εἶναι τὸν ἀστρά-  
 γαλον παίγνιον. τῶν Χαρίτων δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἄγαλμά  
 ἔστιν Ἐρωτος. ἔστηκε δὲ ἐπὶ βάθρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ.  
 8 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σιληνοῦ ναὸς ἐνταῦθα, ἰδίᾳ τῷ Σιληνῷ  
 καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῦ Διονύσῳ πεποιημένος. Μέθη δὲ  
 οἶνον ἐν ἐκπώματι αὐτῷ δίδωσι. θνητὸν δὲ εἶναι  
 τὸ γένος τῶν Σιληνῶν εἰκάσαι τις ἂν μάλιστα  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις αὐτῶν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων χώρα  
 Σιληνοῦ μνημα καὶ ἄλλου Σιληνοῦ Περγαμηνοῖς  
 9 ἔστιν. Ἡλείων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε

<sup>1</sup> φίλας is not in the MSS, but was added by Frazer

## ELIS II, xxiv. 5-9

brought himself to make a definite admission on any matter. The tomb also of Pyrihon is not far from the town of the Eleans. The name of the place is Petra, and it is said that Petra was a township in ancient times. The most notable things that the Eleans have in the open part of the market-place are a temple and image of Apollo Healer. The meaning of the name would appear to be exactly the same as that of Averter of Evil, the name current among the Athenians. In another part are the stone images of the sun and of the moon, from the head of the moon project horns, from the head of the sun, his rays. There is also a sanctuary to the Graces, the images are of wood, with their clothes gilded, while their faces, hands and feet are of white marble. One of them holds a rose, the middle one a die, and the third a small branch of myrtle. The reason for their holding these things may be guessed to be this. The rose and the myrtle are sacred to Aphrodite and connected with the story of Adonis, while the Graces are of all deities the nearest related to Aphrodite. As for the die, it is the plaything of youths and maidens, who have nothing of the ugliness of old age. On the right of the Graces is an image of Love, standing on the same pedestal. Here there is also a temple of Silenus, which is sacred to Silenus alone, and not to him in common with Dionysus. Drunkenness is offering him wine in a cup. That the Silenuses are a mortal race you may infer especially from their graves, for there is a tomb of a Silenus in the land of the Hebrews, and of another at Pergamus. In the market-place of Elis I saw something else, a low structure in the form

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εἶδον, ναοῦ σχῆμα ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὑψηλόν, καὶ τοῖχοι μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ, τὸν ὄροφον δὲ δρυὸς ἀνέχουσιν εἰργασμένοι κίονες. τοῦτο εἶναι μὲν ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μνῆμα, ὅτου δὲ οὐ μνημονεύουσιν· εἰ δὲ ὁ γέρων ὄντινα ἠρόμην εἶπεν ἀληθῆ λόγον, Ὁξύλου τοῦτο ἂν μνῆμα εἴη.  
 10 πεποιήται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἴκημα ταῖς ἐκκαίδεκα καλουμέναις, ἔνθα τὸν πέπλον ὑφαίνουσι τῇ Ἥρᾳ.

Ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ναὸς ἀρχαῖος στοαῖς ἐν κύκλῳ περίστυλος, ὁ δὲ ὄροφος κατερρύηκε τῷ ναῷ καὶ ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐλείπετο· βασιλεύσι δὲ ἀνείται Ῥωμαίοις.

XXV. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπίσω τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων τῶν ἐκ Κορκύρας Ἀφροδίτης ναός, τὸ δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τέμενος οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ναοῦ. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ ναῷ καλοῦσιν Οὐρανίαν, ἐλέφαντος δὲ ἔστι καὶ χρυσοῦ, τέχνη Φειδίου, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ χελώνης βέβηκε· τῆς δὲ περιέχεται μὲν τὸ τέμενος θριγκῷ, κρηπὶς δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεμένους πεποιήται καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κρηπίδι ἄγαλμα Ἀφροδίτης χαλκοῦν ἐπὶ τράγῳ κάθηται χαλκῷ· Σκόπα τοῦτο ἔργον, Ἀφροδίτην δὲ Πάνδημον ὀνομάζουσι. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ χελώνῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν τράγον παρήμι τοῖς θέλουσιν εἰκάζειν.

2 Ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς τοῦ Ἄιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός—ἔστι γὰρ δὴ Ἥλείοις καὶ Ἄιδου περίβολός τε καὶ ναός—ἀνοίγνυται μὲν ἅπαξ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον, ἐσελθεῖν δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐφεῖται πέρα γε τοῦ ἱερωμένου. ἀνθρώπων δὲ ὧν ἴσμεν μόνοι τιμῶσιν Ἄιδην Ἥλαιοι κατὰ αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἡρακλεῖ στρατιὰν ἄγοντι ἐπὶ Πύλον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι,



of a temple. It has no walls, the roof being supported by pillars made of oak. The natives agree that it is a tomb, but they do not remember whose it is. If the old man I asked spoke the truth, it would be the tomb of Oxylus. There is also in the market-place a building for the women called the Sixteen, where they weave the robe for Hera.

Adjoining the market-place is an old temple surrounded by pillars; the roof has fallen down, and I found no image in the temple. It is dedicated to the Roman emperors.

XXV Behind the portico built from the spoils of Corcyra is a temple of Aphrodite, the precinct being in the open, not far from the temple. The goddess in the temple they call Heavenly; she is of ivory and gold, the work of Pheidias, and she stands with one foot upon a tortoise. The precinct of the other Aphrodite is surrounded by a wall, and within the precinct has been made a basement, upon which sits a bronze image of Aphrodite upon a bronze he-goat. It is a work of Scopas, and the Aphrodite is named Common. The meaning of the tortoise and of the he-goat I leave to those who care to guess.

The sacred enclosure of Hades and its temple (for the Eleans have these among their possessions) are opened once every year, but not even on this occasion is anybody permitted to enter except the priest. The following is the reason why the Eleans worship Hades; they are the only men we know of so to do. It is said that, when Heracles was leading

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παρεῖναι οἱ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν συνεργὸν λέγουσιν·  
ἀφικέσθαι οὖν καὶ Πυλίοις τὸν Ἀιδην συμμα-  
χήσοντα τῇ ἀπεχθείᾳ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔχοντα  
3 ἐν τῇ Πύλῳ τιμὰς. ἐπάγονται δὲ καὶ Ὀμηρον  
τῷ λόγῳ μάρτυρα ποιήσαντα ἐν Ἰλιάδι

τλῇ δ' Αἴδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριος ὤκυν ὀιστόν,  
εὐτέ μιν ωὐτὸς ἀνὴρ υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν·

εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγαμέμνωνος καὶ Μενελάου  
στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἰλιον Ποσειδῶν τῷ Ὀμήρου λόγῳ  
τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐπίκουρος ἦν, οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
εἰκότος οὐδὲ Ἀιδην εἶη δόξῃ γε τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ποιητοῦ Πυλίοις ἀμύναι. Ἡλείοι δ' οὖν ὥς  
σφίσι τε εὖνῳ καὶ ἀπεχθανομένῳ πρὸς τὸν  
Ἡρακλέα ἐποιήσαντο τὸ ἱερὸν τῷ θεῷ· ἐκάστου  
δὲ ἅπαξ ἀνοίγειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ νομίζουσιν, ὅτι  
οἶμαι καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἅπαξ ἡ κάθοδος ἡ ἐς τοῦ  
4 Ἀιδου γίνεται. τοῖς δὲ Ἡλείοις καὶ Τύχης  
ἐστὶν ἱερὸν· ἐν στοᾷ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μεγέθει μέγα  
ἄγαλμα ἀνάκειται, ξόανον ἐπίχρυσον πλὴν προ-  
σώπου καὶ χειρῶν τε ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα  
δέ οἱ ἐστὶ λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τιμὰς  
καὶ ὁ Σωσίπολις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς Τύχης, ἐν  
οἰκῇματι οὐ μεγάλῳ· κατὰ δὲ ὄψιν ὀνείρατος  
γραφῇ μεμιμημένος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, παῖς μὲν ἡλικίαν,  
ἀμπέχεται δὲ χλαμύδα ποικίλῃν ὑπὸ ἀστέρων,  
τῇ χειρὶ δὲ ἔχει τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ κέρας τῆς Ἀμαλθείας.  
5 Καθότι δὲ Ἡλείων ἡ πόλις πληθύει μάλιστα  
ἀνθρώποις, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀνδριάς σφισιν ἀνδρὸς  
οὐ μείζων μεγάλου χαλκοῦς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχων πω  
γένεια τὸν τε ἕτερον τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιπλέκων τῷ

an expedition against Pylus in Elis, Athena was one of his allies. Now among those who came to fight on the side of the Pylans was Hades, who was the foe of Heracles but was worshipped at Pylus. Homer is quoted in support of the story, who says in the *Iliad*:<sup>1</sup>

And among them huge Hades suffered a wound  
from a swift arrow,  
When the same man, the son of aegis-bearing Zeus,  
Hit him in Pylus among the dead, and gave him  
over to pains

If in the expedition of Agamemnon and Menelaus against Troy Poseidon was according to Homer an ally of the Greeks, it cannot be unnatural for the same poet to hold that Hades helped the Pylans. At any rate it was in the belief that the god was their friend but the enemy of Heracles that the Eleans made the sanctuary for him. The reason why they are wont to open it only once each year is, I suppose, because men too go down only once to Hades. The Eleans have also a sanctuary of Fortune. In a portico of the sanctuary has been dedicated a colossal image, made of gilded wood except the face, hands and feet, which are of white marble. Here Sosipolis too is worshipped in a small shrine on the left of the sanctuary of Fortune. The god is painted according to his appearance in a dream: in age a boy, wrapped in a star-spangled robe, and in one hand holding the horn of Amaltheia.

In the most thickly-populated part of Elis is a statue of bronze no taller than a tall man; it represents a beardless youth with his legs crossed, leaning

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad* v 395.

ἐτέρῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ἐπὶ δόρατι  
 ἡρμισμένους ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐρεῖαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ λίνου  
 6 τε καὶ βύσσου περιβάλλουσι. τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 ἐλέγετο εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, ἔχειν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον  
 ἐπὶ Σαμικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ τιμάς. μετα-  
 κομισθὲν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἥλιν τιμῆς μὲν καὶ ἐς πλεόν  
 ἔτι ἤκει, Σατράπην δὲ καὶ οὐ Ποσειδῶνα ὄνομα  
 αὐτῷ τίθενται, μετὰ τὴν Πατρέων προσοίκησιν  
 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Σατράπου διδαχθέντες Κορύβαντός  
 τε ἐπὶ κλησὶς ὁ Σατράπης ἐστί.

XXVI. Θέατρον δὲ ἀρχαῖον, μεταξὺ τῆς ἀγορᾶς  
 καὶ τοῦ Μηνίου τὸ θέατρόν τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι  
 Διονύσου· τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα Πραξιτέλους, θεῶν  
 δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἥλειοι  
 καὶ τὸν θεόν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυίῶν  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν λέγουσιν. ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως  
 ὅσον τε ὀκτὼ στάδια ἔνθα τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι  
 Θυῖα ὀνομάζοντες· λέβητας δὲ ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς ἐς  
 οἶκημα ἐσκομίσαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς κατατίθενται κενούς,  
 παρόντων καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, εἰ τύχοιεν  
 ἐπιδημοῦντες· σφραγίδας δὲ αὐτοὶ τε οἱ ἱερεῖς  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην ἢ ταῖς  
 2 θύραις τοῦ οἴκηματος ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ἐς δὲ τὴν  
 ἐπιούσαν τά τε σημεῖα ἐπιγνώναι πάρεστί σφισι  
 καὶ ἐσελθόντες ἐς τὸ οἶκημα εὐρίσκουσιν οἴνου  
 πεπλησμένους τοὺς λέβητας. ταῦτα Ἥλειων τε  
 οἱ δοκιμώτατοι ἄνδρες, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ ξένοι  
 κατώμνυντο ἔχειν κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα, ἐπεὶ αὐτός  
 γὰρ οὐκ ἐς καιρὸν ἀφικόμην τῆς ἑορτῆς· λέγουσι  
 δὲ καὶ Ἄνδριοι παρὰ ἔτος σφίσιν ἐς τοῦ Διονύσου

<sup>1</sup> τὸ θέατρον τε omitted by some editors.

with both hands upon a spear. They cast about it a garment of wool, one of flax and one of fine linen. This image was said to be of Poseidon, and to have been worshipped in ancient times at Samicum in Triphylia. Transferred to Elis it received still greater honour, but the Eleans call it Satrap and not Poseidon, having learned the name Satrap, which is a surname of Corybas, after the enlargement of Patrae.

XXVI. Between the market-place and the Menus is an old theatre and a shrine of Dionysus. The image is the work of Praxiteles. Of the gods the Eleans worship Dionysus with the greatest reverence, and they assert that the god attends their festival, the Thyia. The place where they hold the festival they name the Thyia is about eight stades from the city. Three pots are brought into the building by the priests and set down empty in the presence of the citizens and of any strangers who may chance to be in the country. The doors of the building are sealed by the priests themselves and by any others who may be so inclined. On the morrow they are allowed to examine the seals, and on going into the building they find the pots filled with wine. I did not myself arrive at the time of the festival, but the most respected Elean citizens, and with them strangers also, swore that what I have said is the truth. The Andrians too assert that every other year at their feast of Dionysus wine flows of its own

τὴν ἑορτὴν ρεῖν οἶνον αὐτόματον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.  
εἰ πιστεύειν χρὴ ταῦτα Ἑλλησιν, ἀποδέχοιτο  
ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ γε τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅσα Αἰθίοπες  
οἱ ὑπὲρ Συήνης ἐς τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν τράπεζαν  
λέγουσιν.

3 Ἐν ἀκροπόλει δὲ τῇ Ἡλείων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν  
Ἀθηνᾶς· ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ.  
εἶναι μὲν δὴ Φειδίου φασὶν αὐτὴν, πεποιήται δὲ  
ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπὶ τῷ κράνει, ὅτι οὗτοι προχειρότατα  
ἐχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες· δύναιτο δ'  
ἂν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἐργάνης ἱερὸς ὁ ὄρνις  
νομίζεσθαι.

4 Κυλλήνη δὲ σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσιν Ἡλιδος καὶ  
ἐκατὸν ἀφέστηκε, κεῖται δὲ τετραμμένη τε πρὸς  
Σικελίαν καὶ ὄρμον παρεχομένη ναυσὶν ἐπιτή-  
δειον· ἐπίνειον δὲ οὔσα Ἡλείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς  
Ἀρκάδος τὸ ὄνομα εἴληφε. Κυλλήνης δὲ ἐν μὲν  
Ἡλείων καταλόγῳ λόγον οὐδένα Ὀμηρος ἐποιή-  
σατο, ἐν δὲ ἔπεισι τοῖς ὕστερον δεδήλωκεν ὥς  
πόλισμα οὔσαν καὶ τὴν Κυλλήνην ἐπίσταται·

5 Πουλυδάμας δ' Ὀτον Κυλλήνιον ἐξενάριξεν,  
Φυλείδew ἔταρον, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸν Ἐπειῶν.

θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὸ δὲ  
Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ· τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃν  
οἱ ταύτῃ περισσῶς σέβουσιν, ὀρθὸν ἐστὶν αἰδοῖον  
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήθρου.

6 Ἡ δὲ Ἡλεία χώρα τά τε ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἐς  
καρποὺς καὶ τὴν βύσσον οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκτρέφειν  
ἀγαθή. τὴν μὲν δὴ κανναβίδα καὶ λίνον καὶ  
τὴν βύσσον σπείρουσιν ὅσοις ἡ γῆ τρέφειν ἐστὶν

accord from the sanctuary. If the Greeks are to be believed in these matters, one might with equal reason accept what the Aethiopians above Syene say about the table of the sun <sup>1</sup>

On the Acropolis of the Eleans is a sanctuary of Athena. The image is of ivory and gold. They say that the goddess is the work of Pheidias. On her helmet is an image of a cock, this bird being very ready to fight. The bird might also be considered as sacred to Athena the worker.

Cyllene is one hundred and twenty stades distant from Elis, it faces Sicily and affords ships a suitable anchorage. It is the port of Elis, and received its name from a man of Arcadia. Homer does not mention Cyllene in the list of the Eleans, but in a later part of the poem <sup>1</sup> he has shown that Cyllene was one of the towns he knew

Pulydamas stripped Otus of Cyllene,  
Comrade of Phyleides and ruler of the great-souled  
Epeans.<sup>2</sup>

In Cyllene is a sanctuary of Asclepius, and one of Aphrodite. But the image of Heracles, most devoutly worshipped by the inhabitants, is merely the male member upright on the pedestal.

The land of Elis is fruitful, being especially suited to the growth of fine flax. Now while hemp and flax, both the ordinary and the fine variety, are

<sup>1</sup> See Book I. xxxiii, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* xv. 518.

- ἐπιτηδεῖος· οἱ μῖτοι δέ, ἀφ' ὧν τὰς ἐσθήτας  
 ποιοῦσιν οἱ Σῆρες, ἀπὸ οὐδενὸς φλοιοῦ, τρόπον  
 δὲ ἕτερον γίνονται τοιόνδε. ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ  
 ζωύφιόν σφισιν, ὃν σῆρα καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ὑπὸ  
 δὲ αὐτῶν Σηρῶν ἄλλο πού τι καὶ οὐ σῆρ ὀνομά-  
 7 ζεται· μέγεθος μὲν ἔστιν αὐτοῦ διπλάσιον ἢ  
 κανθάρων ὁ μέγιστος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἵκασται τοῖς  
 ἀράχλαις, οἳ ὑπὸ τοῖς δένδρεσιν ὑφαίνουσι, καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ πόδας ἀριθμὸν ὀκτὼ κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔχει τοῖς  
 ἀράχλαις. ταῦτα τὰ ζῶα τρέφουσιν οἱ Σῆρες  
 οἴκους κατασκευασάμενοι χειμῶνός τε καὶ θέρους  
 ὥρα ἐπιτηδεῖους· τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν ζώων κλῶσμα  
 εὐρίσκεται λεπτὸν τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῶν περιειλιγ-  
 8 μένον. τρέφουσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσαρα ἔτη  
 παρέχοντες τροφήν σφισιν ἔλυμον, πέμπτῳ δὲ—  
 οὐ γὰρ πρόσω βιωσόμενα ἴσασι—κάλαμον διδό-  
 ασιν ἐσθίειν χλωρόν· ἡ δὲ ἔστιν ἡδίστη τροφή  
 πασῶν τῷ ζῳῷ, καὶ ἐμφορηθὲν τοῦ καλάμου  
 ῥήγνυται τε ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς καὶ ἀποθανόντος  
 οὕτω τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἀρπεδόνης εὐρίσκουσιν ἔνδον.  
 γινώσκεται δὲ ἡ Σηρία νῆσος ἐν μυχῷ θαλάσσης  
 9 κειμένη τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ὥς οὐχ ἡ  
 Ἐρυθρά, ποταμὸς δὲ ὃν Σῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν, οὗτός  
 ἔστιν ὁ ποιὼν νῆσον αὐτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ Αἰγύπτου  
 τὸ Δέλτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ οὐχ ὑπὸ μιᾶς  
 περιέχεσθαι θαλάσσης· τοιαύτην ἑτέραν καὶ τὴν  
 Σηρίαν νῆσον εἶναι. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν  
 γένους αὐτοὶ τέ εἰσιν οἱ Σῆρες καὶ ὅσοι τὰς  
 προσεχείς αὐτῇ νέμονται νήσους, Ἀβασαν καὶ  
 Σακαίαν· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ Αἰθιοπας, Σκύθας δὲ  
 ἀναμεμιγμένους Ἰνδοῖς φασιν εἶναι.
- 10 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγεται· ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐς



sown by those whose soil is suited to grow it, the threads from which the Seres make the dresses are produced from no bark, but in a different way as follows. There is in the land of the Seres an insect which the Greeks call *ser*, though the Seres themselves give it another name. Its size is twice that of the largest beetle, but in other respects it is like the spiders that spin under trees, and furthermore it has, like the spider, eight feet. These creatures are reared by the Seres, who build them houses adapted for winter and for summer. The product of the creatures, a clue of fine thread, is found rolled round their feet. They keep them for four years, feeding them on millet, but in the fifth year, knowing that they have no longer to live, they give them green reed to eat. This of all foods the creature likes best; so it stuffs itself with the reed till it bursts with surfeit, and after it has thus died they find inside it the greater part of the thread. *Seria* is known to be an island lying in a recess of the Red Sea. But I have heard that it is not the Red Sea, but a river called *Ser*, that makes this island, just as in Egypt the Delta is surrounded by the Nile and by no sea. Such another island is *Seria* said to be. These Seres themselves are of Aethiopian race, as are the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands, *Abasa* and *Sacaea*. Some say, however, that they are not Aethiopians but a mongrel race of Scythians and Indians.

Such are the accounts that are given. As you go

Ἀχαΐαν ἰόντι ἕξ Ἥλιδος ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα  
 στάδιοι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ ποταμόν εἰσι Λάρισον,  
 καὶ Ἥλείοις ὄροι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς τῆς χώρας ὁ  
 ποταμός ἐστιν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὁ Λάρισος· τὰ δὲ ἔτι  
 ἀρχαιότερα ἄκρα σφίσι πρὸς θαλάσση ὄρος ἦν  
 ὁ Ἀραξος.

ELIS II, XXVI. 10

from Elis to Achaia you come after one hundred and fifty-seven stades to the river Larisus, and in modern days this river forms the boundary between Elis and Achaia, though of old the boundary was Cape Araxus on the coast.



## BOOK VII—ACHAIA

## Ζ'

### ΑΧΑΙΚΑ

Ι. Ἡ δὲ τῆς Ἠλείας μέση καὶ Σικυωνίας, καθήκουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑω θάλασσαν, Ἀχαιᾶν δὲ ὄνομα τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, αὐτὴ τε Αἰγιαλὸς τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐκαλοῦντο Αἰγιαλεῖς, λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Σικυωνίων ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως βασιλεύσαντος ἐν τῇ νῦν Σικυωνίᾳ, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ φασιν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας,   
 2 εἶναι γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς αἰγιαλόν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀποθανόντος Ἑλληνος Ξοῦθον οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνος παῖδες διώκουσιν ἐκ Θεσσαλίας, ἐπενεγκόντες αἰτίαν ὡς ἰδία χρήματα ὑφελόμενος ἔχοι τῶν πατρώων· ὁ δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας φυγὼν θυγατέρα Ἐρεχθέως ἠξιώθη λαβεῖν καὶ παῖδας Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Ἴωνα ἔσχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐρεχθέως τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ δικαστῆς Ξοῦθος ἐγένετο ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ—ἔγνω γὰρ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Κέκροπα βασιλέα εἶναι—οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως παῖδες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας   
 3 αὐτόν· ἀφικομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸν Αἰγιαλὸν καὶ οἰκήσαντι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐγένετο ἐνταῦθα ἡ τελευτή, τῶν δὲ οἱ παίδων Ἀχαιὸς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπικούρους κατήλθεν ἐς Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἔσχε τὴν πατρώαν ἀρχήν, Ἴωνι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγιαλεῖς στρατιάν καὶ ἐπὶ Σελι-

## BOOK VII

### ACHAIA

I. THE land between Elis and Sicyonia, reaching down to the eastern sea, is now called Achaia after the inhabitants, but of old was called Aegialus and those who lived in it Aegialians. According to the Sicyonians the name is derived from Aegialeus, who was king in what is now Sicyonia, others say that it is from the land, the greater part of which is coast (*aigialos*). Later on, after the death of Hellen, Xuthus was expelled from Thessaly by the rest of the sons of Hellen, who charged him with having appropriated some of the ancestral property. But he fled to Athens, where he was deemed worthy to wed the daughter of Erechtheus, by whom he had sons, Achaeus and Ion. On the death of Erechtheus Xuthus was appointed judge to decide which of his sons should succeed him. He decided that Cecrops, the eldest of them, should be king, and was accordingly banished from the land by the rest of the sons of Erechtheus. He reached Aegialus, made his home there, and there died. Of his sons, Achaeus with the assistance of allies from Aegialus and Athens returned to Thessaly and recovered the throne of his fathers; Ion, while gathering an army against the Aegialians and

νοῦντα τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν ἀθροίζοντι ἀγγέλους  
 ἔπεμπεν ὁ Σελινούς, τὴν θυγατέρα Ἑλίκην, ἣ  
 μόνη οἱ παῖς ἦν, γυναῖκα αὐτῷ διδοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν  
 4 Ἴωνα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ παῖδα ποιούμενος. καὶ πῶς  
 ταῦτα τῷ Ἴωνι ἐγένετο οὐκ ἀπὸ γνώμης, καὶ τῶν  
 Αἰγιαλέων τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἴων ἔσχευ ἀποθανόντος  
 Σελινούντος, καὶ Ἑλίκην τε ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς  
 ὤκισεν ἐν τῷ Αἰγιαλῷ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
 ἐκάλεσεν Ἴωνας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. τοῦτο οὐ μεταβολὴ  
 τοῦ ὀνόματος, προσθήκη δέ σφισιν ἐγένετο. Αἰγι-  
 αλεῖς γὰρ ἐκαλοῦντο Ἴωνες. τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἔτι καὶ  
 μᾶλλον διέμεινεν ὄνομα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. Ὀμήρῳ  
 γοῦν ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Ἀγαμέμνονος  
 ἐξήρκεσε τὸ ἀρχαῖον δηλῶσαι τῆς γῆς ὄνομα.

Αἰγιαλὸν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην  
 εὐρείαν.

5 τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴωνος βασιλείας πολεμησάντων  
 Ἀθηναίοις Ἐλευσινίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνα  
 ἐπαγαγομένων ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ πολέμου, τὸν  
 μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ χρεῶν ἐπιλαμβάνει, καὶ  
 Ἴωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ μνῆμα τῷ Ποταμίων ἐστίν· οἱ  
 δὲ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἴωνος τὸ Ἰώνων ἔσχον κράτος,  
 ἐς ὃ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἐξέπεσον καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.  
 τοῖς δὲ Ἀχαιοῖς τηνικαῦτα ὑπῆρξε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ  
 Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Ἀργους ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξελη-  
 6 λάσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἴωνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, ὅπόσα  
 ἐπράχθη σφίσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, ἐπέξιειν αὐτίκα  
 ὁ λόγος μοι προδιηγησαμένῳ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν  
 τοῖς Λακεδαίμονα οἰκοῦσι καὶ Ἀργος πρὸ τῆς τῶν  
 Δωριέων καθόδου μόνοις Πελοποννησίων ὑπῆρξεν  
 Ἀχαιοῖς καλεῖσθαι. Ἀρχανδρος Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ



Selinus their king, received a message from Selinus, who offered to give him in marriage Helice, his only child, as well as to adopt him as his son and successor. It so happened that the proposal found favour with Ion, and on the death of Selinus he became king of the Aegialians. He called the city he founded in Aegialus Helice after his wife, and called the inhabitants Ionians after himself. This, however, was not a change of name, but an addition to it, for the folk were named Aegialian Ionians. The original name clung to the land even longer than to the people, for at any rate in the list of the allies of Agamemnon, Homer<sup>1</sup> is content to mention the ancient name of the land:—

Throughout all Aegialus and about wide Helice.

At that time in the reign of Ion the Eleusimians made war on the Athenians, and these having invited Ion to be their leader in the war, he met his death in Attica, his tomb being in the deme of Potamus. The descendants of Ion became rulers of the Ionians, until they themselves as well as the people were expelled by the Achaeans. The Achaeans at that time had themselves been expelled from Lacedaemon and Argos by the Dorians. The history of the Ionians in relation to the Achaeans I will give as soon as I have explained the reason why the inhabitants of Lacedaemon and Argos were the only Peloponnesians to be called Achaeans before the return of the Dorians. Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, came from

. <sup>1</sup> *Iliad* 11 575.

Ἀρχιτέλης ἐς Ἄργος ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐγένοντο Δαναοῦ γαμβροί, καὶ Αὐτομάτην μὲν Ἀρχιτέλης, Σκαιὰν δὲ ἔλαβεν Ἀρχανδρος. δηλοῦσι δὲ ἐν Ἄργει καταμείναντες οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐν τῷδε· Μετανάστην γὰρ τῷ παιδί 7 ὄνομα ἔθετο Ἀρχανδρος. δυνηθέντων δὲ ἐν τε Ἄργει καὶ Λακεδαίμονι τῶν Ἀχαιοῦ παίδων, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξενίκησεν Ἀχαιοὺς κληθῆναι· τοῦτο μὲν σφισιν ὄνομα ἦν ἐν κοινῷ, Δαναοὶ δὲ Ἀργείοις ἰδίᾳ. τότε δὲ ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐκ τε Ἄργους καὶ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο Ἴωσιν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ὀρέστου γενέσθαι σύνοικοί σφισιν ἄνευ πολέμου· τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων τοὺς βασιλέας ὑπῆει δέος, μὴ Ἀχαιῶν ἀναμιχθέντων αὐτοῖς Τισαμενὸν ἐν κοινῷ βασιλέα ἔλονται 8 κατὰ τε ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ γένους δόξαν. Ἰώνων δὲ οὐ προσεμένων τοὺς Ἀχαιῶν λόγους ἀλλὰ ἐπεξελθόντων σὺν ὅπλοις, Τισαμενὸς μὲν ἔπescen ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, Ἴωνας δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ κρατήσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν καταπεφευγότας ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ ὕστερον ἀφιάσιν ἀπελθεῖν ὑποσπόνδους Τισαμενοῦ δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Ἑλίκῃ θαψάντων, ὕστερον χρόνῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς σφισιν ἀνειπόντος χρηστηρίου κομίζουσι τὰ ὅσῃ ἐς Σπάρτην, καὶ ἦν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι αὐτῷ τάφος, ἔνθα τὰ δείπνα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐστὶ τὰ Φειδίτια 9 καλούμενα Ἴωνας δὲ ἀφικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Μέλανθος Ἀνδροπόμπου συνοίκους ἐξεδέξαντο Ἴωνός τε δὴ ἔνεκα καὶ ἔργων ἃ ἔπραξε πολεμαρχῶν Ἀθηναίοις· λέγεται δὲ ὡς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ

Phthiotis to Argos, and after their arrival became sons-in-law of Danaus, Architeles marrying Automate and Archander Scaea. A very clear proof that they settled in Argos is the fact that Archander named his son Metanastes (*settler*). When the sons of Achaeus came to power in Argos and Lacedaemon, the inhabitants of these towns came to be called Achaeans. The name Achaeans was common to them, the Argives had the special name of Danai. On the occasion referred to, being expelled by the Dorians from Argos and Lacedaemon, the Achaeans themselves and their king Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, sent heralds to the Ionians, offering to settle among them without warfare. But the kings of the Ionians were afraid that, if the Achaeans united with them, Tisamenus would be chosen king of the combined people because of his manliness and noble lineage. The Ionians rejected the proposal of the Achaeans and came out to fight them; in the battle Tisamenus was killed, the Ionians were overcome by the Achaeans, fled to Helice, where they were besieged, and afterwards were allowed to depart under a truce. The body of Tisamenus was buried in Helice by the Achaeans, but afterwards at the command of the Delphic oracle the Lacedaemonians carried his bones to Sparta, and in my own day his grave still existed in the place where the Lacedaemonians take the dinner called Pheiditia. The Ionians went to Attica, and they were allowed to settle there by the Athenians and their king Melanthus, the son of Andropompus, I suppose for the sake of Ion and his achievements when he was commander-in-chief of the Athenians. Another

ποιούμενοι τοὺς Δωριέας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἐθέλωσιν ἀπέχεσθαι, ἰσχύος μᾶλλον οἰκείας ἔνεκα ἢ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας συνοίκους σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο.

II. Ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστάσασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός· δόξαν δὲ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἢ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὲ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλούμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν  
 2 ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρίτος δὴ οὗτος στόλος ὑπὸ βασιλευσιν ἀλλοίοις ὄχλοις τε ἀλλοίοις ἐστάλησαν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαιότατα Ἰόλαος Θηβαῖος, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὁ Ἡρακλέους, Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ Θεσπιδεύσιν ἡγήσατο· γενεᾷ δὲ μιᾷ πρότερον ἢ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Ἴωνες, Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Μινύας τοὺς ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Πηλασγῶν ἐκ Λήμνου Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος Θηβαῖος ἡγαγεν ἐς τὴν νῆσον τὴν νῦν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θήρα τούτου, πρό-  
 3 τερον δὲ ὀνομαζομένην Καλλίστην. τρίτον δὲ τότε οἱ Κόδρου παῖδες ἐπετάχθησαν Ἴωσιν ἄρχοντες, οὐδέν σφισι γένους τοῦ Ἴωνος μετόν, ἀλλὰ Μεσσήνιοι μὲν τῶν ἐκ Πύλου τὰ πρὸς Κόδρου καὶ Μελάνθου, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὄντες τὰ πρὸς μητρός. Ἴωσι δὲ τοῦ στόλου μετασχόντες ἦσαν οἶδε Ἑλλήνων, Θηβαῖοί τε οἱ ὁμοῦ Φιλῶτα

account is that the Athenians suspected that the Dorians would not keep their hands off them, and received the Ionians to strengthen themselves rather than for any good-will they felt towards the Ionians.

II. A few years afterwards Medon and Neileus, the oldest of the sons of Codrus, quarrelled about the rule, and Neileus refused to allow Medon to rule over him, because he was lame in one foot. The disputants agreed to refer the matter to the Delphic oracle, and the Pythian priestess gave the kingdom of Athens to Medon. So Neileus and the rest of the sons of Codrus set out to found a colony, taking with them any Athenian who wished to go with them, but the greatest number of their company was composed of Ionians. This was the third expedition sent out from Greece under kings of a race different from that of the common folk. The earliest was when Iolaus of Thebes, the nephew of Heracles, led the Athenians and Thespians to Sardinia. One generation before the Ionians set sail from Athens, the Lacedaemonians and Minyans who had been expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians were led by the Theban Theras, the son of Autesion, to the island now called after him, but formerly named Calliste. The third occasion was the expedition to which I have referred, when the sons of Codrus were appointed leaders of the Ionians, although they were not related to them, but were, through Codrus and Melanthus, Messenians of Pylus, and, on their mother's side, Athenians. Those who shared in the expedition of the Ionians were the following among the Greeks: some Thebans

# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

γεγονότι ἀπογόνῳ Πηνέλεω καὶ Ὀρχομένιοι  
 4 Μινύαι συγγενεῖα τῶν Κόδρου παίδων· μετέσχον  
 δὲ καὶ Φωκεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Δελφῶν καὶ  
 ἝΑβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. τοῖς δὲ Φωκεῦσι Φιλο-  
 γένης καὶ Δάμων οἱ Εὐκτήμενος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς  
 τε διδόασιν ἐς τὸν πλοῦν καὶ αὐτοὶ σφισιν ἐς τὴν  
 ἀποικίαν ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες· ὥς δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατήσαν, ἐπ' ἄλλην ἐτρέποντο  
 ἄλλοι τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεων, Νειλεὺς δὲ καὶ  
 5 ἡ σὺν αὐτῷ μοῖρα ἐς Μίλητον. Μιλήσιοι δὲ  
 αὐτοὶ τοιάδε τὰ ἀρχαιότατά σφισιν εἶναι λέγου-  
 σιν· ἐπὶ γενεᾷς μὲν δύο Ἀνακτορίαν καλεῖσθαι τὴν  
 γῆν Ἀνακτός τε αὐτόχθονος καὶ Ἀστερίου  
 βασιλεύοντος τοῦ Ἀνακτος, Μιλήτου δὲ κατὰ-  
 ραντος στόλῳ Κρητῶν ἣ τε γῆ τὸ ὄνομα μετέβαλεν  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Μιλήτου καὶ ἡ πόλις. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐκ  
 Κρήτης ὁ Μίλητος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς Μίνω  
 τὸν Εὐρώπης φεύγοντες, οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες οἱ πρότερον  
 νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν σύνοικοι τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐγένοντο·  
 6 τότε δὲ ὥς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ  
 Ἰῶνες, τὸ μὲν γένος πᾶν τὸ ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν  
 πλὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλίσκομένης ἐκδιδράσκουσι,  
 γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἐκείνων γαμοῦσι.  
 Τοῦ δὲ Νειλέως ὁ τάφος ἰόντων ἐς Διδύμους  
 ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ· τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Διδύμοις τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 καὶ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστιν ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἰώνων ἐσοίκῃσιν, πολλῷ δὲ πρεσβύτερα ἔτι ἢ  
 κατὰ Ἰῶνας τὰ ἐς τὴν Ἀρτεμιν τὴν Ἐφεσίαν  
 7 ἐστίν. οὐ μὲν πάντα γε τὰ ἐς τὴν θεὸν ἐπύθετο  
 ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν Πίνδαρος, ὃς Ἀμαζόνας τὸ ἱερὸν ἔφη  
 τοῦτο ἰδρύσασθαι στρατευομένας ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας τε

under Philotas, a descendant of Peneleus, Minyans of Orchomenus, because they were related to the sons of Codrus. There also took part all the Phocians except the Delphians, and with them Abantes from Euboea. Ships for the voyage were given to the Phocians by Philogenes and Damon, Athenians and sons of Euctemon, who themselves led the colony. When they landed in Asia they divided, the different parties attacking the different cities on the coast, and Neileus with his party made for Miletus. The Milesians themselves give the following account of their earliest history. For two generations, they say, their land was called Anactoria, during the reigns of Anax, an aboriginal, and of Asterius his son, but when Miletus landed with an army of Cretans both the land and the city changed their name to Miletus. Miletus and his men came from Crete, fleeing from Minos, the son of Europa; the Carians, the former inhabitants of the land, united with the Cretans. But to resume. When the Ionians had overcome the ancient Milesians they killed every male, except those who escaped at the capture of the city, but the wives of the Milesians and their daughters they married.

The grave of Neileus is on the left of the road, not far from the gate, as you go to Didyma. The sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma, and his oracle, are earlier than the immigration of the Ionians, while the cult of Ephesian Artemis is far more ancient still than their coming. Pindar, however, it seems to me, did not learn everything about the goddess, for he says that this sanctuary was founded by the Amazons during their campaign against Athens and

καὶ Θησέα. αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος γυναῖκες  
 ἔθυσαν μὲν καὶ τότε τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ θεῷ, ἅτε ἐπιστά-  
 μεναι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἡνίκα Ἡρακλέα  
 ἔφυγον, αἱ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα,  
 ἰκέτιδες ἐνταῦθα ἐλθοῦσαι· οὐ μὴν ὑπὸ Ἀμαζόνων  
 γε ἰδρῦθη, Κόρησος δὲ αὐτόχθων καὶ Ἐφεσος—  
 Καύστρου δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν Ἐφεσον παῖδα  
 εἶναι νομίζουσιν—οὗτοι τὸ ἱερόν εἰσιν οἱ ἰδρυσά-  
 μενοι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐφέσου τὸ ὄνομά ἐστι τῇ  
 8 πόλει. Λέλεγες δὲ τοῦ Καρικοῦ μοῖρα καὶ  
 Λυδῶν τὸ πολὺ οἱ νεμόμενοι τὴν χώραν ἦσαν·  
 ἄκουν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἄλλοι τε ἰκεσίας  
 ἔνεκα καὶ γυναῖκες τοῦ Ἀμαζόνων γένους.  
 Ἄνδροκλος δὲ ὁ Κόδρου—οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ἀπεδέ-  
 δεικτο Ἰώνων τῶν ἐς Ἐφεσον πλευσάντων  
 βασιλεύς—Λέλεγας μὲν καὶ Λυδοὺς τὴν ἄνω  
 πόλιν ἔχοντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· τοῖς δὲ  
 περὶ τὸ ἱερόν οἰκοῦσι δαίμα ἦν οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ  
 Ἰωσιν ὄρκους δόντες καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος παρ' αὐτῶν  
 λαβόντες ἐκτὸς ἦσαν πολέμου. ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ  
 Σάμον Ἄνδροκλος Σαμίους, καὶ ἔσχον Ἐφέσιοι  
 χρόνον τινὰ Σάμον καὶ τὰς προσεχεῖς νήσους·  
 9 Σαμίῳν δὲ ἤδη κατεληλυθότων ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία  
 Πριηνεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Κᾶρας ὁ Ἄνδροκλος,  
 καὶ νικῶντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.  
 Ἐφέσιοι δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τοῦ Ἀνδρόκλου τὸν νεκρὸν  
 ἔθαψαν τῆς σφετέρας ἔνθα δαίκνυται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ  
 ἔτι τὸ μνήμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ  
 τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνητίδας·  
 ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν ὠπλισμένος.

<sup>1</sup> See Pindar, *fr* 174



Theseus.<sup>1</sup> It is a fact that the women from the Thermodon, as they knew the sanctuary from of old, sacrificed to the Ephesian goddess both on this occasion and when they had fled from Heracles, some of them earlier still, when they had fled from Dionysus, having come to the sanctuary as suppliants. However, it was not by the Amazons that the sanctuary was founded, but by Coresus, an aboriginal, and Ephesus, who is thought to have been a son of the river Cayster, and from Ephesus the city received its name. The inhabitants of the land were partly Leleges, a branch of the Carians, but the greater number were Lydians. In addition there were others who dwelt around the sanctuary for the sake of its protection, and these included some women of the race of the Amazons. But Androclus the son of Codrus (for he it was who was appointed king of the Ionians who sailed against Ephesus) expelled from the land the Leleges and Lydians who occupied the upper city. Those, however, who dwelt around the sanctuary had nothing to fear, they exchanged oaths of friendship with the Ionians and escaped warfare. Androclus also took Samos from the Samians, and for a time the Ephesians held Samos and the adjacent islands. But after that the Samians had returned to their own land, Androclus helped the people of Priene against the Carians. The Greek army was victorious, but Androclus was killed in the battle. The Ephesians carried off his body and buried it in their own land, at the spot where his tomb is pointed out at the present day, on the road leading from the sanctuary past the Olympieum to the Magnesian gate. On the tomb is a statue of an armed man.

- 10 Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οἱ Μυοῦντα ἐσοικισάμενοι καὶ Πριήνην, Κᾶρας μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τὰς πόλεις ἀφείλονται· οἰκισταὶ δὲ Μυοῦντος μὲν Κυάρητος ἐγένετο ὁ Κόδρου, Πριηνεῖς δὲ Ἴωσιν ἀναμειγμένοι Θηβαῖοι Φιλώταν τε τὸν ἀπόγονον Πηνέλεω καὶ Αἴπυτον Νειλέως παῖδα ἔσχον οἰκιστάς. Πριηνεῖς μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Ταβούτου<sup>1</sup> τε τοῦ Πέρσου καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ Ἰέρωνος ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου κακωθέντες ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον ὅμως τελούσιν ἐς Ἴωνας· Μυοῦντος δὲ οἱ οἰκῆτορες ἐπὶ τύχῃ
- 11 τοιαῦδε ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν. κατὰ τὴν Μυουσίαν χώραν θαλάσσης κόλπος ἐσεῖχεν οὐ μέγας· τοῦτον λίμνην ὁ ποταμὸς ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαίανδρος, ἀποτεμόμενος τὸν ἔσπλουν τῇ ἰλῦι ὥς δὲ ἐνόστησε τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ οὐκέτι ἦν θάλασσα, οἱ κώνωπες ἄπειρον πλῆθος ἐγίνοντο ἐκ τῆς λίμνης, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠνάγκασαν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ ἐς Μίλητον Μυοῦσιοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγώγιμα καὶ τῶν θεῶν φερόμενοι τὰ ἀγάλματα, καὶ ἦν κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐν Μυοῦντι ὅτι μὴ Διονύσου ναὸς λίθου λευκοῦ· Μυουσίοις δέ γε κατέλαβεν εἰκότα καὶ Ἀταρνεΐτας παθεῖν τοὺς ὑπὸ Περγάμῳ.<sup>2</sup>

III. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκ παλαιοτάτου γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν· ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι τὴν γῆν Καρῶν ἀφικέσθαι φασὶν ἐς αὐτὴν πρῶτους τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Κρήτας, Ῥάκιον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἄλλο τῷ Ῥακίῳ πλῆθος, ἔχον τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ καὶ ναυσὶν ἰσχυρὸν· τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν πολλὴν ἐνέμοντο ἔτι οἱ Κᾶρες.

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon conjectured Ταβαλοῦ from Herodotus I 161

<sup>2</sup> An emendation (Sprio's) of the MSS Περγάμον.

The Ionians who settled at Myus and Priene, they too took the cities from Carians. The founder of Myus was Cyaretus the son of Codrus, but the people of Priene, half Theban and half Ionian, had as their founders Philotas, the descendant of Peneleus, and Aepytus, the son of Neileus. The people of Priene, although they suffered much at the hands of Tabutes the Persian and afterwards at the hands of Hiero, a native, yet down to the present day are accounted Ionians. The people of Myus left their city on account of the following accident. A small inlet of the sea used to run into their land. This inlet the river Maeander turned into a lake, by blocking up the entrance with mud. When the water, ceasing to be sea, became fresh,<sup>1</sup> gnats in vast swarms bred in the lake until the inhabitants were forced to leave the city. They departed for Miletus, taking with them the images of the gods and their other movables, and on my visit I found nothing in Myus except a white marble temple of Dionysus. A similar fate to that of Myus happened to the people of Atarneus, under Mount Pergamus.

III. The people of Colophon suppose that the sanctuary at Clarus, and the oracle, were founded in the remotest antiquity. They assert that while the Carians still held the land, the first Greeks to arrive were Cretans under Rhacius, who was followed by a great crowd also, these occupied the shore and were strong in ships, but the greater part of the country continued in the possession of the Carians. When

<sup>1</sup> This is rather a strange sense to give to ἐνόστησε, and perhaps with Sylburg we should read ἐνόσσησε, "became unhealthy" (owing to its being stagnant)

- Θερσάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πολυνείκου καὶ Ἀργείων  
 ἐλόντων Θήβας ἄλλοι τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ ἡ  
 Μαντῶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐς Δελφούς·  
 Τειρεσίαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πορείαν τὸ χρεῶν ἐπέ-  
 2 λαβεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλιαρτίᾳ. ἐκπέμψαντος δὲ σφᾶς  
 ἐς ἀποικίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, περαιοῦνται ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν Κλάρων ἐγένοντο,  
 ἐπεξίασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Κρήτες μετὰ ὅπλων καὶ  
 ἀνάγουσιν ὡς τὸν Ῥάκιον· ὁ δὲ—μανθάνει γὰρ  
 παρὰ τῆς Μαντοῦς οἵτινές τε ἀνθρώπων ὄντες  
 καὶ κατὰ αἰτίαν ἦντινα ἤκουσι—λαμβάνει μὲν  
 γυναῖκα τὴν Μαντῶ, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν  
 αὐτῇ συνοίκους. Μόψος δὲ ὁ Ῥακίου καὶ  
 Μαντοῦς καὶ τὸ παράπαν τοὺς Κᾶρας ἐξέβαλεν  
 3 ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Ἴωνες δὲ ὅρκους ποιησάμενοι πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἐν Κολοφῶνι Ἕλληνας συνεπολιτεύοντο,  
 οὐδὲν ἔχοντες πλέον· βασιλείαν δὲ Ἰώνων  
 ἡγεμόνες Δαμασίχθων λαμβάνει καὶ Πρόμηθος  
 Κόδρου παῖδες. Πρόμηθος δὲ ὕστερον τὸν ἀδελ-  
 φὸν Δαμασίχθονα ἀποκτείνας ἔφυγεν ἐς Νάξον,  
 καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν αὐτόθι ἐν τῇ Νάξῳ, τὸν νεκρὸν  
 δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπαχθέντα κατεδέξαντο οἱ Δαμασίχ-  
 θονος παῖδες· καὶ ἔνθα ὁ τοῦ Προμήθου τάφος,  
 4 Πολυτειχίδες ὄνομά ἐστι τῷ χωρίῳ. Κολο-  
 φωνίοις δὲ ὅπως μὲν τὴν πόλιν συνέπεσεν  
 ἐρημωθῆναι, προεδήλωσέ μοι τοῦ λόγου τὰ ἐς  
 Λυσίμαχον· ἐμαχέσαντο δὲ Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ  
 Μακεδόσι Κολοφώνιοι τῶν ἀνοικισθέντων ἐς  
 Ἐφεσον μόνοι, τοῖς δὲ ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ  
 Κολοφωνίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Σμυρναίων ἐστὶν  
 ὁ τάφος ἰόντι ἐς Κλάρων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς οδοῦ.  
 5 Λεβεδίοις δὲ ἐποίησε μὲν Λυσίμαχος ἀνάστα-

Thebes was taken by Theisander, the son of Polyneices, and the Argives, among the prisoners brought to Apollo at Delphi was Manto. Her father Tenesias had died on the way, in Haliartia, and when the god had sent them out to found a colony, they crossed in ships to Asia, but as they came to Clarus, the Cretans came against them armed and carried them away to Rhacius. But he, learning from Manto who they were and why they were come, took Manto to wife, and allowed the people with her to inhabit the land. Mopsus, the son of Rhacius and of Manto, drove the Carians from the country altogether. The Ionians swore an oath to the Greeks in Colophon, and lived with them in one city on equal terms, but the kingship was taken by the Ionian leaders, Damasichthon and Promethus, sons of Codrus. Afterwards Promethus killed his brother Damasichthon and fled to Naxos, where he died, but his body was carried home and received by the sons of Damasichthon. The name of the place where Damasichthon is buried is called Polyteichides. How it befell that Colophon was laid waste I have already related in my account of Lysimachus<sup>1</sup>. Of those who were transported to Ephesus only the people of Colophon fought against Lysimachus and the Macedonians. The grave of those Colophonians and Smyrnaeans who fell in the battle is on the left of the road as you go to Clarus.

The city of Lebedus was razed to the ground

<sup>1</sup> Book I. ix § 7.

τον τὴν πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ συντέλεια ἐς μέγεθος τῇ Ἐφέσῳ γένοιτο· χώρα δέ σφισιν ἔς τε τὰ λοιπὰ ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων καὶ λουτρὰ παρέχεται θερμὰ πλείστα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση καὶ ἥδιστα. τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν Λέβεδον ἐνέμοντο οἱ Κᾶρες, ἐς δ' Ἀνδραίμων σφᾶς ὁ Κόδρου καὶ Ἴωνες ἐλαύνουσι. τῷ δὲ Ἀνδραίμονι ὁ τάφος ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ἰόντι ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, διαβάντι τὸν Καλάοντα ποταμόν.

- 6 Τέων δὲ ὥκουν μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι Μινύαι σὺν Ἀθάμαντι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐλθόντες· λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀθάμας οὗτος ἀπόγονος Ἀθάμαντος εἶναι τοῦ Αἰόλου. ἀναμεμιγμένοι μὲν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν οἱ Κᾶρες· ἐσήγαγε δὲ Ἴωνας ἐς τὴν Τέων Ἀποικὸς ἀπόγονος Μελάνθου τέταρτος, ὃς τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις οὐδὲ τοῖς Τηίοις νεώτερον ἐβούλευσεν οὐδέν. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἀφίκοντο ἄνδρες· ἡγοῦντο δὲ τοῦ μὲν Ἀττικοῦ Δάμασος καὶ Νάοκλος Κόδρου παῖδες, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν Γέρης Βοιωτός· καὶ σφᾶς συναμφοτέρους ὃ τε Ἀποικὸς καὶ οἱ Τήιοι συνοίκους ἐδέξαντο.

- 7 Ἐρυθραῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν Ἐρύθρῳ τῷ Ῥαδαμάνθυός φασιν ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ οἰκιστὴν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐρυθρον· ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτὴν ὁμοῦ τοῖς Κρησὶ Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν τε καὶ Παμφύλων, Λυκίων μὲν κατὰ συγγένειαν τὴν Κρητῶν—καὶ γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἰσιν ἐκ Κρήτης, οἱ Σαρπηδόνη ὁμοῦ ἔφυγον—Καρῶν δὲ κατὰ φιλίαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ πρὸς Μίνῳ, Παμφύλων δὲ ὅτι γένους μέτεστιν Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ τούτοις—εἰσὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οἱ

by Lysimachus, simply in order that the population of Ephesus might be increased. The land around Lebedus is a happy one, in particular its hot baths are more numerous and more pleasant than any others on the coast. Originally Lebedus also was inhabited by the Carians, until they were driven out by Andraemon the son of Codrus and the Iomians. The grave of Andraemon is on the left of the road as you go from Colophon, when you have crossed the river Calaeon.

Teos used to be inhabited by Minyans of Orchomenus, who came to it with Athamas. This Athamas is said to have been a descendant of Athamas the son of Aeolus. Here too there was a Carian element combined with the Greek, while Iomians were introduced into Teos by Apoecus, a great-grandchild of Melanthus, who showed no hostility either to the Orchomenians or to the Teians. A few years later there came men from Athens and from Boeotia, the Attic contingent was under Damasus and Naoclus, the sons of Codrus, while the Boeotians were led by Geies, a Boeotian. Both parties were received by Apoecus and the Teians as fellow-settlers.

The Erythraeans say that they came originally from Crete with Erythrus the son of Rhadamanthus, and that this Erythrus was the founder of their city. Along with the Cretans there dwelt in the city Lycians, Carians and Pamphylians; Lycians because of their kinship with the Cretans, as they came of old from Crete, having fled along with Saipidon; Carians because of their ancient friendship with Minos; Pamphylians because they too belong to the Greek race, being among those

Πάμφυλοι τῶν μετὰ ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου πλανηθέντων  
σὺν Κάλχαντι—τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων  
ἐχόντων Ἐρυθράς, Κλέοπος ὁ Κόδρου συλλέξας  
ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων ὅσους δὴ παρὰ  
ἐκάστων ἐπεισήγαγεν Ἐρυθραίοις συνοίκους.

- 8 Κλαζομενίοις δὲ καὶ Φωκαεῦσι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ  
Ἰωνας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ᾤκουντο αἱ  
πόλεις. Ἰώνων δὲ ἀφικομένων μοῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν  
πλανωμένη μετεπέμψατο ἡγεμόνα παρὰ Κολο-  
φωνίων Πάρφορον, καὶ πόλιν κτίσαντες ὑπὸ τῇ  
Ἰδῇ τὴν μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐκλείπουσιν, ἐπανιόντες  
δὲ εἰς Ἰωνίαν Σκύππιον τῆς Κολοφωνίας ἔκτισαν.
- 9 ἀπελθόντες δὲ ἐκουσίως καὶ ἐκ τῆς Κολοφωνίας,  
οὕτω γῆν τε ἔσχον, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, καὶ  
κατεσκευάσαντο ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Κλαζομενὰς πόλιν·  
εἰς δὲ τὴν νῆσον διέβησαν δὴ κατὰ τὸ Περσῶν  
δέος. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἔμελλεν ὁ  
Φιλίππου χερρόνησον Κλαζομενὰς ἐργάσεσθαι  
χώματι εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου. τούτων  
τῶν Κλαζομενίων τὸ πολὺ οὐκ Ἰωνες, Κλεωναῖοι  
δὲ ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ Φλιούντος, ὅσοι Δωριέων εἰς Πελο-  
πόννησον κατελθόντων ἐξέλιπον τὰς πόλεις· οἱ  
δὲ Φωκαεῖς γένος μὲν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἰσιν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ  
τῷ Παρνασσῷ καλουμένης καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι  
Φωκίδος, οὗ Φιλογένει καὶ Δάμωνι ὁμοῦ τοῖς  
Ἀθηναίοις διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. τὴν χώραν  
δὲ οὐ πολέμῳ, κατὰ δὲ ὁμολογίαν λαμβάνουσι  
παρὰ Κυμαίων. Ἰώνων δὲ οὐ δεχομένων σφᾶς εἰς  
Πανιώνιον πρὶν ἢ τοῦ γένους βασιλέας τοῦ  
Κοδριδῶν λάβωσιν, οὕτω παρὰ Ἐρυθραίων καὶ  
ἐκ Τέω Δεοίτην καὶ Πέρικλον λαμβάνουσι καὶ  
Ἀβαρτον.



who after the taking of Troy wandered with Calchas. The peoples I have enumerated occupied Erythrae when Cleopus the son of Codrus gathered men from all the cities of Ionia, so many from each, and introduced them as settlers among the Erythraeans.

The cities of Clazomenae and Phocaea were not inhabited before the Ionians came to Asia. When the Ionians arrived, a wandering division of them sent for a leader, Paiphorus, from the Colophonians, and founded under Mount Ida a city which shortly afterwards they abandoned, and returning to Ionia they founded Scyppium in the Colophonian territory. They left of their own free-will Colophonian territory also, and so occupied the land which they still hold, and built on the mainland the city of Clazomenae. Later they crossed over to the island through their fear of the Persians. But in course of time Alexander the son of Philip was destined to make Clazomenae a peninsula by a mole from the mainland to the island. Of these Clazomenians the greater part were not Ionians, but Cleonaeans and Phliasians, who abandoned their cities when the Dorians had returned to Peloponnesus. The Phocaeans are by birth from the land under Parnassus still called Phocis, who crossed to Asia with the Athenians Philogenes and Damon. Their land they took from the Cymaeans, not by war but by agreement. When the Ionians would not admit them to the Ionian confederacy until they accepted kings of the race of the Codridae, they accepted Deoetes, Periclus and Abartus from Erythrae and from Teos.

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IV. Αἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις εἰσὶν Ἰώνων πόλεις Σάμος ἢ ὑπὲρ Μυκάλης καὶ Χίος ἢ ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ Μίμαντος. Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὡς Φοινικὶ ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων. Ἀγκαῖω δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἐνουδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 2 Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι. Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐδήλωσε· τότε δὲ οἱ τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ἀνάγκη πλέον ἐδέξαντο ἢ εὐνοία συνοίκους Ἴωνας. ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἦν τοῖς Ἴωσι Προκλῆς ὁ Πιτυρέως, αὐτὸς τε Ἐπιδαυρίος καὶ Ἐπιδαυρίους τὸ πολὺ ἄγων, οἱ ὑπὸ Δηϊφόντου καὶ Ἀργείων ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν· τούτῳ τῷ Προκλεῖ γένος ἦν ἀπὸ Ἴωνος τοῦ Ξούθου. Ἀνδροκλος δὲ καὶ Ἐφέσιοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ Λεώγορον τὸν Προκλέους, βασιλεύοντα μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐν Σάμῳ, καὶ μάχην νικήσαντες ἐξελαύνουσιν ἐκ τῆς νήσου Σαμίους· αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπέφερον μετὰ Καρῶν σφᾶς ἐπιβου-  
 3 λεύειν Ἴωσι. Σαμίων δὲ τῶν φευγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ νῆσον ᾤκησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τῆς ἐνοικήσεως Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον καλοῦσιν ἀντὶ Δαρδανίας· οἱ δὲ ὁμοῦ Λεωγόρῳ περὶ Ἀναίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ πέραν βαλλόμενοι τεῖχος, δέκα ἔτεσιν ὕστερον διαβάντες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τοὺς τε Ἐφεσίους ἐκβάλλουσι καὶ ἀνελύσαντο τὴν νῆσον.

IV The cities of the Ionians on the islands are Samos over against Mycale and Chios opposite Mimas Asiuss, the son of Amphiptolemus, a Samian, says in his epic that there were born to Phoenix Astypalaea and Europa, whose mother was Perimede, the daughter of Oeneus, that Astypalaea had by Poseidon a son Ancaeus, who reigned over those called Leleges, that Ancaeus took to wife Samia, the daughter of the river Maeander, and begat Perilaus, Enudus, Samus, Altheises and a daughter Parthenope; and that Parthenope had a son Lycomedes by Apollo. Thus far Asiuss in his poem. But on the occasion to which I refer the inhabitants of the island received the Ionians as settlers more of necessity than through good-will. The leader of the Ionians was Procles, the son of Pityreus, Epidaurian himself like the greater part of his followers, who had been expelled from Epidauria by Deiphontes and the Argives. This Procles was descended from Ion, son of Xuthus. But the Ephesians under Androclus made war on Leogorius, the son of Procles, who reigned in Samos after his father, and after conquering them in a battle drove the Samians out of their island, accusing them of conspiring with the Carians against the Ionians. The Samians fled and some of them made their home in an island near Thrace, and as a result of their settling there the name of the island was changed from Dardania to Samothrace. Others with Leogorius threw a wall round Anaea on the mainland opposite Samos, and ten years after crossed over, expelled the Ephesians and reoccupied the island.

- 4 Τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἑρας εἰσὶν οὐκ ἰδρύσασθαι φασὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί πλέοντας, ἐπάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ Ἀργους· Σάμιοι δὲ αὐτοὶ τεχθῆναι νομίζουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τὴν θεὸν παρὰ τῷ Ἰμβράσῳ ποταμῷ καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ λύγῳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἠραίῳ κατ' ἐμὲ ἔτι πεφυκυῖα εἶναι δ' οὖν τὸ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαίον<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ἥκιστα ἂν τις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγάλματι τεκμαίροιτο· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον Αἰγινήτου Σμίλιδος τοῦ Εὐκλείδου. οὗτος ὁ Σμίλῖς ἐστὶν ἡλικίαν κατὰ Δαίδαλον, δόξης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἴσον
- 5 ἀφίκετο· Δαιδάλῳ μὲν γὰρ γένους τε Ἀθήνησιν ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τῶν καλουμένων Μητιονιδῶν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς πλάνης τε ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἐπιφανέστερος ἐγένετο ἐς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἀποκτείνας μὲν ἀδελφῆς παῖδα καὶ ἐπιστάμενος τὰ οἴκοι νόμιμα ἐκουσίως παρὰ Μίνῳ ἔφυγεν ἐς Κρήτην, καὶ αὐτῷ τε ἀγάλματα Μίνῳ καὶ τοῦ Μίνῳ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἐποίησε, καθότι καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν
- 6 Ἰλιάδι ἐδήλωσε· καταγνωσθεῖς δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μίνῳ καὶ ἐς δεσμωτήριον ὁμοῦ τῷ παιδὶ ἐμβληθεῖς ἐκδιδράσκει τε ἐκ Κρήτης καὶ ἐς Ἴνυκον Σικελῶν πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται παρὰ Κώκαλον, καὶ πολέμου παρέσχε τοῖς Σικελοῖς αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς Κρήτας, ὅτι ἐξαιτοῦντος Μίνῳ μὴ πρόοιτο αὐτὸν ὁ Κώκαλος· καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωκάλου τῶν θυγατέρων ἐσπουδάσθη κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὥς καὶ θάνατον τῷ Μίνῳ βουλευσαί
- 7 τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς χάριν Δαιδάλου. δῆλόν τε ὥς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν Σικελίαν, ἐπὶ πλείστον δὲ καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀφίκετο τοῦ Δαιδάλου τὸ ὄνομα.

Some say that the sanctuary of Hera in Samos was established by those who sailed in the *Argo*, and that these brought the image from Argos. But the Samians themselves hold that the goddess was born in the island by the side of the river Imbrasus under the withy that even in my time grew in the Heraeum. That this sanctuary is very old might be inferred especially by considering the image, for it is the work of an Aeginetan, Smilis, the son of Eucleides. This Smilis was a contemporary of Daedalus, though of less repute. Daedalus belonged to the royal Athenian clan called the Metiomidae, and he was rather famous among all men not only for his art but also for his wandering and his misfortunes. For he killed his sister's son, and knowing the customs of his city he went into exile of his own accord to Minos in Crete. There he made images for Minos and for the daughters of Minos, as Homer sets forth in the *Iliad*;<sup>1</sup> but being condemned by Minos on some charge he was thrown into prison along with his son. He escaped from Crete and came to Cocalus at Inycus, a city of Sicily. Thereby he became the cause of war between Sicilians and Cretans, because when Minos demanded him back, Cocalus refused to give him up. He was so much admired by the daughters of Cocalus for his artistic skill that to please him these women actually plotted against Minos to put him to death. It is plain that the renown of Daedalus spread over all Sicily and even over the greater part

<sup>1</sup> xviii. 592 foll

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<sup>1</sup> Here the MSS. have  $\delta$ , which was deleted by Bekker.

ὁ δὲ Σμίλεις, ὅτι μὴ παρὰ Σαμίους καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἥλειαν, παρ' ἄλλους γε οὐδένας φανερός ἐστιν ἀποδημήσας· ἐς τούτους δὲ ἀφίκετο, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἥρας ὁ ποιήσας ἐστὶν οὗτος.

- 8 \* \* Ἴωνι δὲ τῷ ποιήσαντι τραγωδίαν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τοιάδε εἰρημένα, Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημον οὔσαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νύμφη τε ἐνταῦθα συγγενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ὠδῖνας τῆς νύμφης χίονα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Ποσειδῶνα τῷ παιδὶ ὄνομα θέσθαι Χίον· συγγενέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἑτέρα νύμφη, καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ παῖδας Ἀγελόν τε καὶ Μέλανα· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ καὶ Οἰνοπίωνα ἐς τὴν Χίον κατὰραι ναυσὶν ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔπεσθαι δέ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Τάλον καὶ Εὐάνθην καὶ Μέλανα καὶ Σάλαγόν τε
- 9 καὶ Ἀθάμαντα ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Κἄρες ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνοπίωνος βασιλείας καὶ Ἀβαντες ἐξ Εὐβοίας. Οἰνοπίωνος δὲ καὶ τῶν παίδων ἔλαβεν ὕστερον Ἀμφικλος τὴν ἀρχὴν· ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐξ Ἰστιαίας ὁ Ἀμφικλος τῆς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν. Ἐκτωρ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀμφίκλου τετάρτη γενεᾷ—βασιλείαν γὰρ ἔσχε καὶ οὗτος—ἐπολέμησεν Ἀβάντων καὶ Καρῶν τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τοὺς δὲ ἀπελθεῖν
- 10 ἠνάγκασεν ὑποσπόνδους. γενομένης δὲ ἀπαλλαγῆς πολέμου Χίοις, ἀφικέσθαι τηνικαῦτα ἐς μνήμην Ἐκτορι ὡς σφᾶς καὶ Ἴωσι δέοι συνθύειν ἐς Πανιώνιον· τρίποδα δὲ ἄθλον λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθία παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ φησι τοῦ Ἰώνων. τοσαῦτα εἰρηκότα ἐς Χίους Ἴωνα

of Italy But as for Smilis, it is not clear that he visited any places save Samos and Elis. But to these he did travel, and he it was who made the image of Heia in Samos

. . . Ion the tragic poet says in his history that Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited, that there he had intercourse with a nymph, and that when she was in her pains there was a fall of snow (*chion*), and that accordingly Poseidon called his son Chios Ion also says that Poseidon had intercourse with another nymph, by whom he had Agelus and Melas, that in course of time Oenopion too sailed with a fleet from Ciete to Chios, accompanied by his sons Talus, Euanthes, Melas, Salagus and Athamas Carians too came to the island, in the reign of Oenopion, and Abantes from Euboea Oenopion and his sons were succeeded by Amphiclus, who because of an oracle from Delphi came from Histiaea in Euboea Three generations from Amphiclus, Hector, who also had made himself king, made war on those Abantes and Carians who lived in the island, slew some in battle, and forced others to surrender and depart. When the Chians were rid of war, it occurred to Hector that they ought to unite with the Ionians in sacrificing at Panionium. It is said that the Ionian confederacy gave him a tripod as a prize for valour Such was the account of the Chians that I found

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εὔρισκον· οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε, καθ' ἣντινα αἰτίαν Χίοι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἴωνας.

V Σμύρναν δέ, ἐν ταῖς δώδεκα πόλεσιν οὖσαν Αἰολέων καὶ οἰκουμένην<sup>1</sup> τῆς χώρας, καθ' ἣ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι πόλιν καλοῦσιν ἀρχαίαν, Ἴωνες ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ὀρμηθέντες ἀφελόμενοι τοὺς Αἰολεῖς ἔσχον· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἴωνες μετέδωκαν Σμυρναίοις τοῦ ἐν Πανιωνίῳ συλλόγου. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Φιλίππου τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλεως  
 2 ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς κατ' ὄψιν ὀνειράτος· Ἀλέξανδρον γὰρ θηρεύοντα ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Πάγῳ, ὡς ἐγένετο ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς Νεμέσεων λέγουσιν ἱερόν, καὶ πηγῇ τε ἐπιτυχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ πλατάνῳ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, πεφυκυῖα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ πλατάνῳ καθεύδοντι κελεύειν φασὶν αὐτῷ τὰς Νεμέσεις ἐπιφανείσας πόλιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκίζειν καὶ ἄγειν ἐς αὐτὴν Σμυρ-  
 3 ναίους ἀναστήσαντα ἐκ τῆς προτέρας· ἀποστέλλουσιν οὖν ἐς Κλάρον θεωροὺς οἱ Σμυρναῖοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων σφίσιν ἐρησομένους, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔχρησεν ὁ θεός·

τρὶς μάκαρες κείνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται, οἳ Πάγον οἰκήσουσι πέρην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

οὕτω μετωκίσαντο ἐθελονταὶ καὶ δύο Νεμέσεις νομίζουσιν ἀντὶ μιᾶς καὶ μητέρα αὐταῖς φασιν εἶναι Νύκτα, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοί γε τῇ ἐν Ῥαμνοῦντι θεῷ πατέρα λέγουσιν εἶναι Ὠκεανόν.

4 Ἴωσι δὲ ἔχει μὲν ἐπιτηδειότατα ὥρων κράσεως ἡ χώρα, ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ οἷα οὐχ ἐτέρωθι,

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. read οἰκουμένης or οἰκουμένη, and have ἦν after πόλιν.



given by Ion. However, he gives no reason why the Chians are classed with the Ionians.

V Smyrna, one of the twelve Aeolian cities, built on that site which even now they call the old city, was seized by Ionians who set out from Colophon and displaced the Aeolians, subsequently, however, the Ionians allowed the Smyrnaeans to take their place in the general assembly at Panionium. The modern city was founded by Alexander, the son of Philip, in accordance with a vision in a dream. It is said that Alexander was hunting on Mount Pagus, and that after the hunt was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and found there a spring and a plane-tree in front of the sanctuary, growing over the water. While he slept under the plane-tree it is said that the Nemeses appeared and bade him found a city there and to remove into it the Smyrnaeans from the old city. So the Smyrnaeans sent ambassadors to Clarus to make inquiries about the circumstance, and the god made answer —

Thrice, yes, four times blest will those men be  
Who shall dwell in Pagus beyond the sacred  
Meles

So they migrated of their own free will, and believe now in two Nemeses instead of one, saying that their mother is Night, while the Athenians say that the father of the goddess<sup>1</sup> in Rhamnus is Ocean.

The land of the Ionians has the finest possible climate, and sanctuaries such as are to be found

<sup>1</sup> That is, Nemesis.

πρῶτον μὲν τὸ <sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἐφεσίας μεγέθους τε ἔνεκα  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ πλούτῳ, δύο δὲ οὐκ ἐξειργασ-  
 μένα Ἀπόλλωνος, τό τε ἐν Βραγχίдайς τῆς Μιλη-  
 σίας καὶ ἐν Κλάρῳ τῇ Κολοφωνίων. δύο δὲ  
 ἄλλους ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ ναοὺς ἐπέλαβεν ὑπὸ Περσῶν  
 κατακαυθῆναι, τὸν τε ἐν Σάμῳ τῆς Ἡρας καὶ  
 ἐν Φωκαίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· θαῦμα δὲ ὁμῶς ἦσαν  
 5 καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς λελυμασμένοι. ἡσθείης δ' αὖ  
 καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ  
 ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῷ, τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἔνεκα,  
 Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς κατὰ ἀρχαιότητα·  
 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὔτε τοῖς καλουμένοις Αἰγυναίοις  
 οὔτε τῶν Ἀττικῶν τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοισι ἐμφερές, εἰ  
 δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο, ἀκριβῶς ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτιον.  
 σχεδία γὰρ ἦν <sup>2</sup> ξύλων, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ  
 Τύρου τῆς Φοινίκης ἐξέπλευσε· καθ' ἣντινα δὲ  
 αἰτίαν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι λέγουσιν.  
 6 ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίκετο ἡ σχεδία τὴν  
 Ἰώνων, φασὶν αὐτὴν ὀρμίσασθαι πρὸς ἄκρα  
 καλουμένην Μεσάτη· ἡ δὲ ἔστι μὲν τῆς ἠπείρου,  
 τοῖς δὲ <sup>3</sup> ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρυθραίων λιμένος ἐς νῆσον τὴν  
 Χίων πλέουσι τοῦτό ἐστι <sup>4</sup> μεσαίτατον. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ἡ σχεδία κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν ἔσχευεν, ἐνταῦθα πολὺν  
 μὲν οἱ Ἐρυθραῖοι πόνον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονα δὲ ἔσχον  
 οἱ Χίοι ποιούμενοι σπουδὴν παρὰ σφᾶς καταγ-  
 7 αγεῖν ἐκάτεροι τὸ ἄγαλμα· τέλος δὲ Ἐρυθραῖος  
 ἄνθρωπος, ᾧ βίος μὲν ἦν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γεγωνῶς  
 καὶ ἄγρας ἰχθύων, διέφθαρτο δὲ ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς  
 ὀφθαλμούς, ὄνομα δὲ οἱ Φορμίων ἦν, οὗτος ὁ  
 ἀλιεὺς εἶδεν ὄψιν ὀνείρατος ὥς τὰς Ἐρυθραίων  
 γυναῖκας ἀποκείρασθαι δέοι τὰς κόμας καὶ οὕτω  
 τοὺς ἄνδρας πλεξαμένους κάλον ἐκ τῶν τριχῶν

nowhere else First because of its size and wealth is that of the Ephesian goddess, and then come two unfinished sanctuaries of Apollo, the one in Branchidae, in Milesian territory, and the one at Clarus in the land of the Colophonians Besides these, two temples in Ionia were burnt down by the Persians, the one of Hera in Samos and that of Athena at Phocaea Damaged though they are by fire, I found them a wonder You would be delighted too with the sanctuary of Heracles at Erythrae and with the temple of Athena at Priene, the latter because of its image and the former on account of its age. The image is like neither the Aeginetan, as they are called, nor yet the most ancient Attic images, it is absolutely Egyptian, if ever there was such. There was a wooden raft, on which the god set out from Tyre in Phoenicia The reason for this we are not told even by the Erythraeans themselves. They say that when the raft reached the Ionian sea it came to rest at the cape called Mesate (*Middle*), which is on the mainland, just midway between the harbour of the Erythraeans and the island of Chios When the raft rested off the cape the Erythraeans made great efforts, and the Chians no less, both being keen to land the image on their own shores. At last a man of Erythrae (his name was Phormio) who gained a living by the sea and by catching fish, but had lost his sight through disease, saw a vision in a dream to the effect that the women of Erythrae must cut off their locks, and in this way the men would, with a rope woven from the hair, tow the

<sup>1</sup> τὸ added by Buttmann

<sup>3</sup> δὲ is not in the MSS

<sup>2</sup> ἦν added by Spiro

<sup>4</sup> For ἐστὶ the MSS. have ἐπὶ.

- τὴν σχεδίαν παρὰ σφᾶς κατάξειν. αἱ μὲν δὴ  
 ἄσταί τῶν γυναικῶν οὐδαμῶς ὑπακούειν τῷ  
 8 οὐείρατι ἐβούλοντο· ὁπόσαι δὲ τοῦ Θρακίου γέ-  
 νους ἐδούλευον καὶ ὅσαις σφίσιν ἐλευθέραις ἦν  
 ἐνταῦθα βίος, ἀποκεῖραι παρέχουσιν αὐτάς· καὶ  
 οὕτως οἱ Ἑρυθραῖοι τὴν σχεδίαν καθέλκουσιν.  
 ἔσοδος τε δὴ ταῖς Θράσσαις ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειόν  
 ἐστι γυναικῶν μόναις, καὶ τὸ καλῳδίον τὸ ἐκ τῶν  
 τριχῶν καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι φυλάσσουσι·  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀλιέα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἀναβλέψαι  
 9 τε καὶ ὁρᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου φασίν. ἔστι  
 δὲ ἐν Ἑρυθραῖς καὶ Ἀθηναῖς Πολιάδος ναὸς καὶ  
 ἄγαλμα ξύλου μεγέθει μέγα καθήμενόν τε ἐπὶ  
 θρόνου καὶ ἡλακάτην ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν ἔχει  
 καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πόλον· τοῦτο Ἐνδοίου τέχνην  
 καὶ ἄλλοις ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐργα-  
 σίαν ὁρῶντες<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς Χάρισί τε καὶ Ὠραῖς, αἱ πρὶν ἐσελθεῖν  
 ἐστήκασιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ λίθου λευκοῦ. ἐποιήθη  
 δὲ καὶ κατ' ἐμὲ Σμυρναίοις ἱερὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ  
 μεταξὺ Κορυφῆς τε ὄρους καὶ θαλάσσης ἀμιγοῦς  
 ὕδατι ἀλλοίῳ.
- 10 Ἡ δὲ Ἰωνία παρέξ τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 αἰέρος κράσεως παρέχεται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς συγγραφὴν,  
 ἣ μὲν γε Ἐφεσία χώρα τὸν τε Κέγχριον ποταμὸν  
 καὶ τοῦ Πίονος τοῦ ὄρους τὴν φύσιν καὶ πηγὴν  
 τὴν Ἀλιταίαν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Μιλησίᾳ πηγὴ τέ ἐστι  
 Βιβλῖς καὶ ὅσα ἐς τῆς Βιβλίδος τὸν ἔρωτα  
 ἄδουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῇ Κολοφωνίῳ ἄλσος τε τοῦ  
 Ἀπόλλωνος, δένδρα μελῖαι, καὶ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ  
 ἄλσους Ἀλῆς ποταμὸς ψυχρότατος τῶν ἐν  
 11 Ἰωνίᾳ. Λεβεδίοις δὲ τὰ λουτρά ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα

raft to their shores The women of the citizens absolutely refused to obey the dream; but the Thracian women, both the slaves and the free who lived there, offered themselves to be shorn. And so the men of Erythrae towed the raft ashore. Accordingly no women except Thracian women are allowed within the sanctuary of Heracles, and the hair 10pe is still kept by the natives The same people say that the fisherman recovered his sight and retained it for the rest of his life There is also in Erythrae a temple of Athena Polias and a huge wooden image of her sitting on a throne; she holds a distaff in either hand and wears a firmament on her head That this image is the work of Endoeus we inferred, among other signs, from the workmanship, and especially from the white marble images of Graces and Seasons that stand in the open before the entrance A sanctuary too of Asclepius was made by the Smyrnaeans in my time between Mount Coryphe and a sea into which no other water flows

Ionia has other things to record besides its sanctuaries and its climate There is, for instance, in the land of the Ephesians the river Cenchrius, the strange mountain of Pion and the spring Halitaea. The land of Miletus has the spring Biblis, of whose love the poets have sung. In the land of Colophon is the grove of Apollo, of ash-trees, and not far from the grove is the river Ales, the coldest river in Ionia In the land of Lebedus are

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<sup>1</sup> Here the MSS have *ἐνδον*.

- ἀνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται· ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρὰ τῇ Μακρίᾳ, τὰ μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐν πέτρας χηραμῶ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς  
 ἐπίδειξιν πλούτου πεποιημένα. Κλαζομενίοις δὲ  
 λουτρά ἐστιν—ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀγαμέμνων ἔχει  
 τιμάς—καὶ ἄντρον μητρός σφισι Πύρρου καλού-  
 μενον, καὶ λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ Πύρρῳ λέγουσι τῷ  
 12 ποιμένι. Ἐρυθραίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν χώρα Χαλκίς,  
 ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τῶν φυλῶν σφισιν ἡ τρίτη τὸ ὄνομα  
 ἔσχηκεν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χαλκίδος κατατείνουσα ἐς  
 τὸ πέλαγος ἄκρα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ λουτρὰ θαλάσσια,  
 μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ λουτρῶν ὠφέλιμα ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις. Σμυρναίοις δὲ ποταμὸς Μέλῃς ὕδωρ ἐστὶ  
 κάλλιστον καὶ σπήλαιον ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἔνθα  
 13 Ὅμηρον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπη λέγουσι. Χίοις δὲ ὁ τοῦ  
 Οἰνοπίωνος τάφος θέαν τε παρέχεται καὶ τινας καὶ  
 λόγους ἐς τοῦ Οἰνοπίωνος τὰ ἔργα· Σαμίοις δὲ  
 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ Ῥαδίνης καὶ  
 Λεοντίχου μνημῆα ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ ἔρωτος  
 ἀνιωμένοις εὖχεσθαι καθέστηκεν ἰοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 μνημα.

VI. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ θαύματα πολλά τε καὶ  
 οὐ πολλῷ τινι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀποδέοντά  
 ἐστίν· τότε δὲ ἀπεληλυθόντων Ἰώνων τὴν τε  
 γῆν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Ἰώνων διελάγχανον καὶ  
 ἐσφκίζοντο ἐς τὰς πόλεις. αἱ δὲ δύο τε καὶ δέκα  
 ἦσαν ἀριθμόν, ὅποσαι γε καὶ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν  
 γνῶριμοι, Δύμη μὲν πρὸς Ἥλιδος πρώτη, μετὰ δὲ  
 αὐτὴν Ὠλενος καὶ Φαραὶ καὶ Τρίτεια καὶ Ῥύπες  
 καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Κερύνεια καὶ Βοῦρα, ἐπὶ ταύταις δὲ  
 Ἑλίκη καὶ Αἰγαί τε καὶ Αἴγαιρα καὶ Πελλήνη πρὸς  
 τῆς Σικυωνίας ἐσχάτη· ἐς ταύτας οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ

baths, which are both wonderful and useful. Teos, too, has baths at Cape Macria, some in the clefts of the rock, filled by the tide, others made to display wealth. The Clazomenians have baths (incidentally they worship Agamemnon) and a cave called the cave of the mother of Pyrrhus, they tell a legend about Pyrrhus the shepherd. The Erythraeans have a district called Calchis, from which their third tribe takes its name, and in Calchis is a cape stretching into the sea, and on it are sea baths, the most useful baths in Ionia. The Smyrnaeans have the river Meles, with its lovely water, and at its springs is the grotto, where they say that Homer composed his poems. One of the sights of Chios is the grave of Oenopion, about whose exploits they tell certain legends. The Samians have on the road to the Heraeum the tomb of Rhadine and Leontichus, and those who are crossed in love are wont to go to the tomb and pray. Ionia, in fact, is a land of wonders that are but little inferior to those of Greece.

VI. When the Ionians were gone the Achaeans divided their land among themselves and settled in their cities. These were twelve in number, at least such as were known to all the Greek world, Dyme, the nearest to Elis, after it Olenus, Pharae, Triteia, Rhypes, Aegium, Ceryneia, Buia, Helice also and Aegae, Aegira and Pellene, the last city on the side of Sicyonia. In them, which had previously

- οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν ἐσφκίζοντο πρότερον ἔτι ὑπὸ  
 2 Ἰώνων οἰκουμένας. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τὸ μέγιστον ἐν<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἔχοντες κράτος οἳ τε Τισαμενοῦ  
 παῖδες Δαιμένης καὶ Σπάρτων καὶ Τέλλις τε καὶ  
 Λεοντομένης· Κομήτης δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν  
 Τισαμενοῦ παίδων πρότερον ἔτι διεβεβήκει  
 ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν. οὗτοί τε δὴ τηνικαῦτα  
 ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐδυνάστευον καὶ Δαμασίας ὁ  
 Πενθίλου τοῦ Ὀρέστου, τοῖς Τισαμενοῦ παισὶν  
 ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός. ἴσχυον δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς  
 κατελεγμένοις καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος  
 Πρευγένης καὶ ὁ υἱός, ὄνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Πατρεὺς·  
 καὶ σφισιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐδόθη κτίσασθαι  
 πόλιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρέως  
 ἐτέθη τῇ πόλει.
- 3 Τὰ δὲ ἐς πόλεμον τοιάδε ἦν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.  
 κατὰ μὲν ἐς Ἴλιον ἐπιστρατεῖαν Ἀγαμέμνωνος  
 Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι καὶ Ἄργος οἰκοῦντες μεγίστη τοῦ  
 Ἑλληνικοῦ μοῖρα ἦσαν κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ξέρξου καὶ  
 Μήδων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὔτε Λεωνίδα τῆς ἐξόδου  
 τῆς ἐς Θερμοπύλας εἰσὶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ δῆλοι μετεσ-  
 χηκότες οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοῦ καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ  
 πρὸς Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχῆσαντες, οὐδὲ  
 σφᾶς κατάλογος συμμάχων ἔχει Λακωνικὸς ἢ  
 4 Ἀττικὸς. ὑστέρησαν δὲ καὶ ἔργου τοῦ Πλαταιᾶσι·  
 δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναθήματι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων μετῆν ἂν καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς γεγράφθαι.  
 δοκεῖν δέ μοι τὰς πατρίδας τε ὑπολειφθέντες  
 ἕκαστοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἔσωζον καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἔργον  
 τὸ πρὸς Τροίαν Λακεδαιμονίους Δωριεῖς ἀπηξίου  
 σφίσιν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐδήλωσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ χρόνον·  
 Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἐς τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον



been inhabited by Ionians, settled the Achaeans and their princes. Those who held the greatest power among the Achaeans were the sons of Tisamenus, Daimenes, Sparton, Tellis and Leontomenes, his eldest son, Cometes, had already crossed with a fleet to Asia. These then at the time held sway among the Achaeans along with Damasias, the son of Penthilus, the son of Orestes, who on his father's side was cousin to the sons of Tisamenus. Equally powerful with the chiefs already mentioned were two Achaeans from Lacedaemon, Preuges and his son, whose name was Patreus. The Achaeans allowed them to found a city in their territory, and to it was given the name Patrae from Patreus.

The wars of the Achaeans were as follow. In the expedition of Agamemnon to Troy they furnished, while still dwelling in Lacedaemon and Argos, the largest contingent in the Greek army. When the Persians under Xerxes attacked Greece the Achaeans <sup>480 B</sup> it is clear had no part in the advance of Leonidas to Thermopylae, nor in the naval actions fought by the Athenians with Themistocles off Euboea and at Salamis, and they are not included in the Laconian or in the Attic list of allies. They were absent from the action at Plataea, for otherwise the Achaeans would surely have had their name inscribed on the offering of the Greeks at Olympia. My view is that they stayed at home to guard their several fatherlands, while because of the Trojan war they scorned to be led by Dorians of Lacedaemon. This became plain in course of time. For when later on the <sup>432 B</sup> Lacedaemonians began the war with the Athenians,

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<sup>1</sup> *ἐν* added by Schubart

καταστάντων ὕστερον, ἐς τὴν συμμαχίαν ἦσαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρόθυμοι Πατρεῦσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς  
 5 Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἦσσαν εἶχον γνώμην. πολέμων δὲ τῶν πολεμηθέντων ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἑλλησι κοινου τοῦ μὲν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου τε ἐναντία καὶ Μακεδόνων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μετέσχον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Λαμία καλούμενον πόλεμον οὗ φασιν ἐκστρατεύσασθαι, οὐ γάρ πω μετὰ τὸ πταῖσμα ἀνενηνοχέναι τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Πατρεῦσιν ἐξηγητὴς τὸν παλαιστὴν Χίλωνα Ἀχαιῶν μόνον μετασχεῖν  
 6 ἔφασκε τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ<sup>1</sup> περὶ Λάμιαν. οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα αὐτὸς Λυδὸν Ἀδραστον ἰδίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινου τοῦ Λυδῶν ἀμύναντα Ἑλλησι· τοῦ δὲ Ἀδράστου τούτου χαλκὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Λυδοὶ πρὸ ἱεροῦ Περσικῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ἔγραψαν ἐπιγράμμα ὡς τελευτήσκειν ὁ Ἀδραστος ἐναντίον Λεοννάτῳ μαχόμενος ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων.  
 7 ἡ δὲ ἐς Θερμοπύλας ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλατῶν στρατιὰν ἔξοδος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως παρώφθη Πελοποννησίοις· ἅτε γὰρ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐχόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, δεινὸν ἔσεσθαι σφισιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἠλπίζον, εἰ τὸν Κορινθίων ἰσθμὸν ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Λέχαιον ἀποτειχίσειαν ἐς  
 8 τὴν ἐτέραν τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρέαις θάλασσαν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ Πελοποννησίων ἦν τότε ἀπάντων βούλευμα· ἐπεὶ δὲ Γαλάται νηυσὶν ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον διαβεβήκεσαν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν οὕτω τὰ Ἑλλήνων. προεστήκεσαν κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδένες ἔτι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις πταῖσμα καὶ ἅμα οἱ τε Ἀρκάδες συνεληλυθότες ἐς Μεγάλην πόλιν

the Achaeans were eager for the alliance with Patrae, and were no less well disposed towards Athens. Of the wars waged afterwards by the confederate Greeks, the Achaeans took part in the battle of Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip, but they say that they did not march out into Thessaly to what is called the Lamian war, for they had not yet recovered from the reverse in Boeotia. The local guide at Patrae used to say that the wrestler Chilon was the only Achaean who took part in the action at Lamia. I myself know that Adrastus, a Lydian, helped the Greeks as a private individual, although the Lydian commonwealth held aloof. A likeness of this Adrastus in bronze was dedicated in front of the sanctuary of Persian Artemis by the Lydians, who wrote an inscription to the effect that Adrastus died fighting for the Greeks against Leonnatus. The march to Thermopylae against the army of the Gauls was left alone by all the Peloponnesians alike; for, as the barbarians had no ships, the Peloponnesians anticipated no danger from the Gauls, if only they walled off the Corinthian Isthmus from the sea at Lechaenum to the other sea at Cenchreae. This was the policy of all the Peloponnesians at this time. But when the Gauls had somehow crossed in ships to Asia, the condition of the Greeks was as follows. No Greek state was pre-eminent in strength. For the Lacedaemonians were still prevented from recovering their former prosperity by the reverse at Leuctra combined with the union of the Arcadians at

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<sup>1</sup> τοῦ is not in the MSS

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παροικούντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν  
 9 προτέραν ἔτι εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκώλουν· Θηβαίοις δὲ  
 ἐς τοσοῦτο ἡρήμωσεν Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν πόλιν, ὥς  
 ἔτεσιν ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς καταχθέντας ὑπὸ  
 Κασσάνδρου μηδὲ σώζειν τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀξιόχρεως  
 εἶναι· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ εὖνοια μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ἑλλη-  
 νικοῦ τῶν ἔργων μάλιστα ὑπῆρχε τῶν ὕστερον,  
 ἀναπαύσασθαι δὲ οὐ ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Μακεδόνων  
 πολέμου παρῆν αὐτοῖς.

VII. Ἑλλήνων δὲ οὐ τασσομένων τῆνικαῦτα  
 ἔτι ἐν κοινῷ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐκάστων κατὰ σφᾶς συνιστα-  
 μένων, οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλιστα ἴσχυον· τυράννων τε  
 γὰρ πλὴν Πελλήνης αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις τὸν χρόνον  
 ἅπαντα ἀπείρως ἐσχέκεσαν αἷ τε ἐκ πολέμων καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου συμφοραὶ τῆς λοιμώδους οὐκ ἐς  
 τοσοῦτο Ἀχαιοῖς ἐφ' ὅσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο  
 Ἑλλησι. συνέδριόν τε οὖν Ἀχαικὸν καλού-  
 μενον καὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ λόγου βουλευμάτα τε ἦν  
 2 Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὰ ἔργα. ἀθροίζεσθαι δὲ ἐς Αἰγιὸν  
 σφισιν ἔδοξεν· αὕτη γὰρ μετὰ Ἑλίκην ἐπι-  
 κλυσθεῖσαν πόλεων ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τῶν ἄλλων δόξῃ  
 προεῖχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἴσχυεν ἐν τῷ τότε.  
 Ἑλλήνων δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Σικυνῶνιοι συνεδρίου  
 πρῶτοι τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετέσχον, μετὰ δὲ Σικυω-  
 νίους ἐσήεσαν ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων  
 οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ χρόνον τινὰ ἐπισχόντες·  
 τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκτὸς οἰκοῦντας τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ συντελεῖν  
 ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπειθεν, ὅτι ἐς πλεόν ἰσχύος προῖδν  
 3 ἐώρων ἀεὶ τὸ Ἀχαικόν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἑλλή-  
 νων μόνοι διάφοροί τε Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν  
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πόλεμόν σφισιν ἐπήγουν.  
 Πελλήνην μὲν γε Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν Ἀγίς εἶλεν ὁ

Megalopolis and the settlement of Messenians on their border Thebes had been brought so low by Alexander that when, a few years later, Cassander <sup>335</sup> brought back her people, they were too weak even to hold their own The Athenians had indeed the goodwill of Greece, especially for their later exploits, but they never found it possible to recover from the Macedonian war.

VII. When the Greeks no longer took concerted action, but each state acted for itself alone, the Achaeans enjoyed their greatest power. For except Pellene no Achaean city had at any time suffered from tyranny, while the disasters of war and of pestilence touched Achaia less than any other part of Greece So we have what was called the Achaean League, and the Achaeans had a concerted policy and carried out concerted actions As a place of assembly they resolved to have Aegium, for, after Helice had been swallowed up by the sea, Aegium from of old surpassed in reputation the other cities of Achaia, while at the time it enjoyed great power Of the remaining Greeks the Sicyonians were the first to join the Achaean League, and after the Sicyonians there entered it yet other Peloponnesians, some forthwith and others after an interval. Some too who lived outside the Isthmus were persuaded to join the Achaean League by its unbroken growth in power Alone among the Greeks the Lacedaemonians were the bitter enemies of the Achaeans and openly carried on war against them. Pellene, a city of the Achaeans, was captured by Agis, the son of Eudamidas, who was

- Εὐδαμίδου βασιλεύων ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐξέπεσεν αὐτίκα ἐκ Πελλήνης ὑπὸ Ἀράτου καὶ Σικωνίων· Κλεομένης δὲ ὁ Λεωνίδου τοῦ Κλεωνύμου, βασιλεὺς οἰκίας τῆς ἐτέρας, ἀντικαθημένους Ἀρατον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς πρὸς Δύμῃ παρὰ πολὺ τε ἐκράτησεν ἐλθόντας ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ὕστερον
- 4 Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ συνέθετο εἰρήνην. Ἀντίγονος δὲ οὗτος τηνικαῦτα ἀρχὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων εἶχεν, ἐπιτροπεύων Φίλιππον τὸν Δημητρίου παῖδα ἔτι ἡλικίαν ὄντα· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀνεψιὸς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ μητρὶ αὐτοῦ συνώκει. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ποιησάμενος ὁ Κλεομένης σπονδὰς καὶ αὐτίκα παραβὰς ὅσα ὤμοσεν ἡνδραποδίσσατο Ἀρκάδων Μεγάλην πόλιν· Λακεδαιμονίοις τε τὸ ἐν Σελλασίᾳ πταῖσμα πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἀντίγονον Κλεομένους ἔνεκα καὶ ἐπιτορκίας τῆς ἐκείνου συνέβη. Κλεομένους μὲν δὴ καὶ αὐθις ἐν λόγοις τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς ἀφιξό-
- 5 μεθα ἐς μνήμην· Φίλιππος δὲ ὁ Δημητρίου τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν, ὡς ἀφίκετο ἐς ἄνδρας, παρὰ ἐκόντος Ἀντιγόνου λαβὼν φόβον τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλησιν ἐνεποίησε, τὰ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, προγόνου μὲν οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ δεσπότην, τὰ τε ἄλλα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος καὶ τὰ ἐς θεραπείαν ὅσοις πατρίδας ἀρεστὰ ἦν ἐπ' οἰκείοις προδιδόναι κέρδεσι. προπίνειν δὲ παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ἐπὶ δεξιότητι καὶ φιλία κύλικας οὐκ οἴνου, φαρμάκων δὲ ἐς ὄλεθρον ἀνθρώποις, ἃ δὴ ὁ μὲν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Φίλιππος οὐδ' ἐπενόησεν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἀρχήν, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> See Book VIII. xxvii. § 5

king at Sparta, but he was immediately driven out by the Sicyonians under Aratus. Cleomenes, the son of Leonidas, the son of Cleonymus, king of the other royal house, won a decisive victory at Dyme over the Sicyonians under Aratus, who attacked him, and afterwards concluded a peace with the Achaeans and Antigonus. This Antigonus at the time ruled over the Macedonians, being the guardian of Philip, the son of Demetrius, who was still a boy. He was also a cousin of Philip, whose mother he had taken to wife. With this Antigonus then and the Achaeans Cleomenes made peace, and immediately broke all the oaths he had sworn by reducing to slavery Megalopolis, the city of the Arcadians. Because of Cleomenes and his treachery the Lacedaemonians suffered the reverse at Sellasia, where they <sup>222 B</sup> were defeated by the Achaeans under Antigonus. In my account of Arcadia<sup>1</sup> I shall again have occasion to mention Cleomenes. When Philip, the son of Demetrius, reached man's estate, and Antigonus without reluctance handed over the sovereignty of the Macedonians, he struck fear into the hearts of all the Greeks. He copied Philip, the son of Amyntas, who was not his ancestor but really his master, especially by flattering those who were willing to betray their country for their private advantage. At banquets he would give the right hand of friendship, offering cups filled not with wine but with deadly poison, a thing which I believe never entered the head of Philip the son of Amyntas, but poisoning sat very lightly on the conscience of

- Δημητρίου τὰ φάρμακα τόλμημα ἦν ἐλαφρότατον.  
6 κατεῖχε δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τρεῖς πόλεις φρουραῖς ὀρμητήρια  
εἶναί οἱ κατὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ὠνόμαζε δὲ ὑπὸ  
τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπεροφίας  
κλεῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰς πόλεις ταύτας· ἐπὶ μὲν  
γε Πελοποννήσῳ Κόρινθος καὶ ἡ Κορινθίων ἀκρό-  
πολις ἐτετείχιστο, ἐπὶ δὲ Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτοῖς  
τε καὶ Φωκεῦσι Χαλκὶς ἡ πρὸς τῷ Εὐρύπῳ, κατὰ  
δὲ Θεσσαλῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνους  
Μαγνησίαν τὴν ὑπὸ τὸ Πήλιον κατεῖχεν ὁ  
Φίλιππος. μάλιστα δὲ Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὸ Αἰτω-  
λικὸν ἐπιστρατείαις τε συνεχέσιν ἐπῆζε καὶ  
7 ληστῶν καταδρομαῖς· ἐμνημόνευσε δέ μοι καὶ  
πρότερον ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι συγγραφῇ, ὅσοι  
τε Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων ἐναντία Φιλίππου  
συνήραυτο Ἀθηναῖοις καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας τῶν  
συμμάχων ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἐπικουρίαν τὴν  
ἐκείθεν κατέφευγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
ἐπεπόμευσαν καὶ οὐ πολλῷ τινι ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ  
μὲν ἐπικουρήσοντας Αἰτωλοῖς ἐναντία Φιλίππου,  
τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ μᾶλλον τι ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐν  
8 Μακεδονίᾳ πραγμάτων· τότε δὲ ἀποστέλλουσιν  
Ἀθηναῖοις στρατιάν τε καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ὀτίλιον·  
τοῦτο γάρ οἱ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἦν τὸ ἐκδηλότατον,  
ἐπεὶ καλοῦνται γε οὐ πατρόθεν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ  
ταῦτα Ἑλλήσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρία ὁπότε ὀλίγιστα  
καὶ ἔτι πλέονα ὀνόματα ἐκάστῳ τίθενται. τῷ δὲ  
Ὀτίλῳ προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπείργειν  
ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Αἰτωλικοῦ τὸν Φιλίππου  
9 πόλεμον. Ὀτίλιος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς πράγ-  
μασι κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐχρήτο, τάδε δὲ οὐ  
κατὰ γνώμην οἱ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶν εἰργασμένα·



Philip the son of Demetrius He also occupied with garisons three towns to be used as bases against Greece, and in his insolent contempt for the Greek people he called these cities the keys of Greece. To watch Peloponnesus Counth was fortified with its citadel, to watch Euboea, the Boeotians and the Phocians, Chalcis on the Euripus; against the Thessalians themselves and the Aetolian people Philip occupied Magnesia at the foot of Mount Pelium. The Athenians especially and the Aetolians he harried with continual attacks and raids of bandits Already, in my account of Attica<sup>1</sup> I have described the alliances of Greeks and barbarians with the Athenians against Philip, and how the weakness of their allies urged the Athenians to seek help from Rome. A short time before, the Romans had sent a force ostensibly to help the Aetolians against Philip, but really more to spy on the condition of Macedonia At the appeal of Athens the Romans despatched an army under Otilius, to give him the name by which he was best known. For the Romans differ from the Greeks in their being called, not by the names of their fathers, but by three names at least, if not more, given to each man Otilius had received orders from the Romans to protect Athenians and Aetolians from war with Philip Otilius carried out his orders up to a point, but displeased the Romans in certain of

<sup>1</sup> See Book I xxxvi § 5

<sup>1</sup> δὲ is not in the MSS.

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Εὐβοέων γὰρ Ἑστίαιαν πόλιν καὶ Ἀντίκυραν τὴν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ἐλών, ὑπηκόους κατ' ἀνάγκην οὖσας Φιλίππου, ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους. καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἐπύθετο ἡ βουλή, ἀποστέλλουσιν Ὀτιλίῳ διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς Φλαμίνιον.

VIII. Τότε δὲ ἦκων ὁ Φλαμίνιος Ἐρέτριάν τε διήρπασε, τοὺς φρουροῦντας Μακεδόνων μάχην νικήσας, καὶ αὐθις ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Κόρινθον κατεχομένην ὑπὸ Φιλίππου φρουρᾷ αὐτός τε προσεκάθητο πολιορκῶν καὶ παρὰ Ἀχαιοὺς ἅμα ἀποστέλλων ἐπήγγελλέ σφισιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πρὸς Κόρινθον στρατιᾷ, συμμάχους τε ἀξιωθησομένους καλεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἅμα εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὸ

2 Ἑλληνικόν. Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐποιοῦντο μὲν μεγάλως καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν αἰτία Φλαμίνιον καὶ ἔτι πρότερον Ὀτίλιον, οἱ μετεχειρίσαντο ὡμῶς οὕτω πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας καὶ ἀρχαίας, ἀναμαρτήτους τε οὖσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων ἀρχομένας· προεωρῶντο δὲ καὶ ὥς ἀντὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων Ῥωμαῖοι σφίσι τε ἤκοιεν καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ δεσπόται προστάττειν. ῥηθέντων δὲ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλῶν καὶ ἐναντίων ἀλλήλοις, τέλος οἱ εὖνοι Ῥωμαίοις ἐνίκησαν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ Φλαμινίῳ Κόρινθον συνεπολιόρκησαν.

3 Κορίνθιοι δὲ ἀπὸ Μακεδόνων ἐλευθερωθέντες μετέσχον αὐτίκα συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν, μετασχόντες καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε Ἄρατος καὶ Σικυνώνιοι φρουρὰν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξήλασαν καὶ ἀπέκτειναν Περσαῖον ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου ταχθέντα ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου σύμμαχοί τε ὠνομάζοντο Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς

his acts. Hestiaea in Eubœa and Anticyra in Phocis, which had been compelled to submit to Philip, he utterly destroyed. It was, I think, for this reason that the senate, when they heard the news, sent Flaminius to succeed Otilius in his command.

VIII On his arrival Flaminius sacked Eetria, defeating the Macedonians who were defending it. He then marched against Corinth, which was held by Philip with a garrison, and sat down to besiege it, while at the same time he sent to the Achaeans and bade them come to Corinth with an army, if they desired to be called allies of Rome and at the same time to show their goodwill to Greece. But the Achaeans greatly blamed Flaminius himself, and Otilius before him, for their savage treatment of ancient Greek cities which had done the Romans no harm, and were subject to the Macedonians against their will. They foresaw too that the Romans were coming to impose their domination both on Achaeans and on the rest of Greece, merely in fact to take the place of Philip and the Macedonians. At the meeting of the League many opposite views were put forward, but at last the Roman party prevailed, and the Achaeans joined Flaminius in besieging Corinth. On being delivered from the Macedonians the Corinthians at once joined the Achaean League; they had joined it on a previous occasion, when the Sicyonians under Aratus drove all the garrison out of Acrocorinth, killing Persaeus, who had been placed in command of the garrison by Antigonus. Hereafter the Achaeans were called allies of the Romans, and in all respects right zealous allies they

# PAUSANIAS DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

τὰ πάντα ἦσαν πρόθυμοι· καὶ σφισιν εἶποντο μὲν  
 ἐς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, μετέσχον δὲ καὶ  
 στρατείας ἐς Αἰτωλούς, τρίτα δὲ ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία Ἀντιόχου καὶ Σύρων.

- 4 "Ὅσα μὲν δὴ Ἀχαιοὶ Μακεδόσιν ἢ στρατιᾷ τῇ  
 Σύρων ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο, φιλίᾳ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 ἔπραξαν· ἐς δὲ Αἰτωλούς ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφισιν ἦν  
 οἰκεῖα ἐγκλήματα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Νάβιδος ἐν Σπάρτῃ  
 τυραννὶς κατελέλυτο, ἐς πλείστην ὠμότητα  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀφικομένου, τὰ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους  
 5 αὐτίκα ἐνεπεπτώκει· καὶ σφᾶς ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον  
 οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τοῦτον ἐς σύλλογον ὑπάγονται τὸν  
 Ἀχαικὸν καὶ δίκας τε ἐδίκάζον σφισιν ἐς τὸ  
 ἀκριβέστατον καὶ τὰ τείχη τῆς Σπάρτης κατα-  
 βάλλουσιν ἐς ἔδαφος, οἰκοδομηθέντα μὲν καὶ  
 πρότερον ἔτι αὐτοσχεδίως ἐπὶ τε τῆς Δημητρίου  
 καὶ ὕστερον τῆς Πύρρου καὶ Ἡπειρωτῶν στρα-  
 τείας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος τῆς Νάβιδος καὶ ἐς  
 τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ὀχυρωθέντα. τά τε οὖν τείχη  
 τῆς Σπάρτης οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθεῖλον καὶ τὰ ἐς  
 μελέτην τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν Λυκούργου νόμων  
 καταλύσαντες ἐπέταξαν τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐφήβοις  
 6 τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύειν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς πλεόν  
 ἐπέξεισιν αὐθὶς μοι τὰ ἐς Ἀρκάδας· Λακεδαι-  
 μόνιοι δὲ ἄτε μεγάλως τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν ἀχθό-  
 μενοι τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ Μέτελλον  
 καὶ ὅσοι σὺν Μετέλλῳ κατὰ πρεσβείαν ἦκον ἐκ  
 Ῥώμης. ἀφίκοντο δὲ οὗτοι Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μακε-  
 δόσι πόλεμον μὲν οὐδένα ἐπάξοντες ἄτε εἰρήνης  
 πρότερον ἔτι Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὁμωμοσ-  
 μένης, ὅποσα δὲ ἡ Θεσσαλοῖς ἢ τῶν ἐξ Ἡπείρου  
 τισὶν ἐγκλήματα ἦν ἐς Φίλιππον, ταῦτα ἦκον οἱ

proved themselves to be They followed the Romans to Macedonia against Philip, they took part in the campaign against the Aetolians, thindly they fought side by side with the Romans against the Syrians under Antiochus

All that the Achaeans did against the Macedonians or the host of the Syrians they did because of their friendship to the Romans; but against the Aetolians they had a long-standing private quarrel to settle. When the tyranny of Nabis in Sparta was put down, a tyranny marked by extreme ferocity, the affairs of Lacedaemon at once caught the attention of the Achaeans. At this time the Achaeans brought the Lacedaemonians into the Achaean confederacy, exacted from them the strictest justice, and razed the walls of Sparta to the ground. These had been built at haphazard at the time of the invasion of Demetrius, and afterwards of the Epeirots under Pyrrhus, but under the tyranny of Nabis they had been strengthened to the greatest possible degree of safety. So the Achaeans destroyed the walls of Sparta, and also repealed the laws of Lycurgus that dealt with the training of the youths, at the same time ordering the youths to be trained after the Achaean method I shall treat of this more fully in my account of Arcadia<sup>1</sup> The Lacedaemonians, deeply offended by the ordinances of the Achaeans, fled to Metellus and the other commissioners who had come from Rome. They had come, not at all to bring war upon Philip and the Macedonians, as peace had already been made between Philip and the Romans, but to judge the charges brought against Philip by the Thessalians and certain

<sup>1</sup> See Book VIII li

- 7 ὁμοῦ Μετέλλῃ κρινούντες ἔργῳ μὲν δὴ Φίλιπ-  
 πὸς τε αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀκμὴ καθήρητο  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων—μαχεσάμενος γὰρ Φλαμινίου καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία Φίλιππος ἐν Κυνὸς καλου-  
 μέναις κεφαλαῖς<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἥττον ἠνέγκατο, ἀλλ' ἅτε  
 δὴ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀγωνισάμενος αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ  
 Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ἐκρατήθη τῇ συμβολῇ, ὥς  
 στρατιᾶς τε ἦν ἡγευ ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν πόλεων, ὅσας εἶλεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολέμῳ  
 παραστησάμενος, ἐξήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπασῶν τὰς  
 φρουρὰς κατὰ ὁμολογίαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους—, κατὰ  
 8 μέντοι τοῦ λόγου τὸ εὐπρεπὲς παρὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 εὖρητο εἰρήνην δεήσεσί τε παντοίαις καὶ δαπάναις  
 χρημάτων μεγάλαις. τὰ δὲ ἐς Μακεδόνας δύνα-  
 μίν τε, ἣν ἐπὶ Φιλίππου περιεβάλλοντο τοῦ  
 Ἀμύντου, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ ὑστεροῦ τὰ  
 πράγματά σφισιν ἐφθάρη, Σίβυλλα οὐκ ἄνευ  
 θεοῦ προεθέσπισεν· ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ χρησθέντα·
- 9 αὐχοῦντες βασιλεῦσι Μακεδόνες Ἀργεάδῃσιν,  
 ὑμῖν κοιρανέων ἀγαθὸν καὶ πῆμα Φίλιππος.  
 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν πρότερος πόλεσιν λαοῖσί τ' ἄνακτας  
 θήσει· ὁ δ' ὀπλότερος τιμὴν ἀπὸ πᾶσαν  
 ὀλέσσει,  
 δμηθεῖς ἐσπερίοισιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσιν ἠφίοις τε.  
 Ῥωμαῖοί τε δὴ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν νεμόμενοι τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης καθεῖλον τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καὶ  
 τῶν ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ταχθέντων Ἀτταλος . . .<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ ἔτι ἐκ Μυσίας στρατιᾶς· πρὸς δὲ ἀνίσχοντα  
 ἥλιον μᾶλλον τι ἢ Μυσία τέτραπται.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have here ἐν λόγοις Clavier suggested  
 λόφοις

## ACHAIA, VIII 6-9

Epeirots In actual fact Philip himself and the Macedonian ascendancy had been put down by the Romans; Philip fighting against the Romans under Flamininus was worsted at the place called Dog's Heads, where in spite of his desperate efforts Philip was so severely defeated in the encounter that he lost the greater part of his army and agreed with the Romans to evacuate all the cities in Greece that he had captured and forced to submit. By prayers of all sorts, however, and by vast expenditure he secured from the Romans a nominal peace. The history of Macedonia, the power she won under Philip the son of Amyntas, and her fall under the later Philip, were foretold by the inspired Sibyl. This was her oracle:—

Ye Macedonians, boasting of your Argive kings,  
To you the reign of a Philip will be both good and  
evil

The first will make you kings over cities and  
peoples;

The younger will lose all the honour,  
Defeated by men from west and east.

Now those who destroyed the Macedonian empire were the Romans, dwelling in the west of Europe, and among the allies fighting on their side was Attalus . . . who also commanded the army from Mysia, a land lying under the rising sun.

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<sup>2</sup> There is a hiatus here. Spiro would add τῆς ἐκ Περγάμου συλλεχθείσης ἡγεμῶν

- IX Τότε δὲ τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ πρεσβείᾳ μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν Λακεδαιμονίων ἤρεσε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἡξίουں συγκαλέσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἵνα ἐν κοινῷ διδάξωσιν αὐτοὺς ἡπιώτερον μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. οἱ δὲ σφισιν ἀπεκρίναντο μήτε ἐκείνοις Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς σύλλογον μήτε ἄλλῳ συνάξειν, ὅστις μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι ἐφ' ὧτ' ποιεῖται τὴν πρόσσodon παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ἔχει δόγμα. Μέτελλος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν περιυβρίσθαι νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ῥώμην, πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ τὰ πάντα ἀληθῆ κατηγοροῦν τῶν
- 2 Ἀχαιῶν. τούτων δὲ πλείονα ἐνεκάλουν Ἀχαιοῖς Ἀρεὺς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδας, Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ δόκιμοι τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐ δίκαιοι· γενομένους γὰρ ὑπὸ Νάβιδος φυγάδας ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ἀποθανόντος Νάβιδος παρὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ δήμου κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην. τότε οὖν ἀναβεβηκότες καὶ οὗτοι παρὰ τὴν βουλήν προθυμότατα ἐνέκειντο Ἀχαιοῖς· Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ σφισιν ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐπιβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ θάνα-
- 3 τον ζημίαν. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλή πέμπουσιν ἄλλους τε ἄνδρας καὶ Ἀππίον Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς τὰ δίκαια ὀρίσαι. Ἀππίος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔμελλον μὲν οὐδὲ ὀφθέντες Ἀχαιοῖς ἔσεσθαι καθ' ἡδονήν, οἱ Ἀρέα καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδαν ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐπήγοντο ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιοῖς ἐχθίστους· ἐλύπησαν δὲ καὶ ἐς πλεον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον αὐτῶν ἐπελθόντες σὺν



IX On the occasion to which I referred Metellus and the other commissioners resolved not to overlook the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and asked the officers of the League to summon the Achaeans to a meeting, so that they might receive all together instructions to be gentler in their treatment of Lacedaemon. The officers replied that they would call a meeting of the Achaeans neither for them nor for anyone else who had not a decree of the Roman senate approving the proposal for which the assembly was to be held. Metellus and his colleagues, thinking that the conduct of the Achaeans was very insolent, on their arrival at Rome made before the senate many accusations against the Achaeans, not all of which were true. More accusations still against the Achaeans were made by Areus and Alcibiadas, Lacedaemonians of great distinction at Sparta but ungrateful to the Achaeans. For the Achaeans gave them a welcome when exiled by Nabis, and on the tyrant's death restored them to Sparta against the will of the Lacedaemonian people. On this occasion, therefore, they too arose and attacked the Achaeans with great vehemence before the senate, accordingly, the Achaeans, at a meeting of their League, passed sentence of death upon them. The Roman senate sent Appius and other commissioners to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The mere sight of Appius and his colleagues was sure to be displeasing to the Achaeans, for they brought with them Areus and Alcibiadas, detested by the Achaeans at that time beyond all other men. The commissioners vexed the Achaeans yet more when they came to the assembly and delivered

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- ὀργῇ μᾶλλον ἐποιοῦντο ἢ πειθοῖ τοὺς λόγους.
- 4 Λυκόρτας δὲ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης, οὔτε ἀξιώματι οὔδενός Ἀρκάδων ὕστερος καὶ τι καὶ φρόνημα κατὰ φιλίαν προσειληφώς τὴν Φιλοποίμενος, λόγῳ τε ἀπέφαινε τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δίκαια καὶ ὁμοῦ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ μέμψιν τινὰ ὑπέτεινεν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. Ἀππίος δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ Λυκόρταν λέγοντα ἐποιοῦντο ἐν χλευασμῷ καὶ Ἀρέως ἀποψηφίζονται καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι, Λακεδαιμονίοις τε ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις ἐφιάσιν ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐναντία ἐφιέντες ἢ Ῥωμαίοις συγκεείμενα ἦν καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς. Ἀχαιῶν μὲν γὰρ εἶρητο ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν ἀπιέναι πρέσβεις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἀπείρητο μὴ πρεσβεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν μετέχον.
- 5 ἀντιπρεσβευσαμένων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ λόγων ῥηθέντων ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποστελλουσιν αὖθις οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίοις γενέσθαι καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς δικαστάς, Ἀππίον καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ πρότερον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφίκοντο. οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν κατάγουσιν ἐς Σπάρτην καὶ ὅσων πρὸ κρίσεως ἀπελθόντων κατέγνωστο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀδικεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις τιμήματα ἔλυσαν. καὶ συντελείας μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους τῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν οὐκ ἀφιάσι, περὶ δὲ τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ ξενικά σφισι διδόασιν εἶναι δικαστήρια, ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα, λαμβάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀχαικῷ ὑπέχειν τὰς κρίσεις. ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὖθις
- 6 Σπαρτιάταις ὁ κύκλος τοῦ ἄστεως. Λακεδαι-

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μονίῳν δὲ οἱ κατελθόντες, βουλευόντες παντοῖα ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, λυπήσειν σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε μάλιστα ἡλπιζοι. Μεσσηνίους τοὺς Φιλοποίμενι θανάτου συναιτίους γενέσθαι νομισθέντας καὶ κατὰ τὴν<sup>1</sup> αἰτίαν ταύτην ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεπτωκότας, τούτους τε καὶ Ἀχαιῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀναβῆναι πείθουσιν ἐς Ῥώμην· σὺν δέ σφισιν ἀνεληλυθότες καὶ αὐτοὶ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔπρασσον κάθοδον. ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Ἀππίου Λακεδαιμονίοις συμπροθυμουμένου μεγάλως, Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ παντὶ ἀντιβαίνοντος, ἔμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς Μεσσηνίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς φεύγουσι τὰ βουλευμάτα ἐς δέον χωρήσειν· γράμματά τε αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐς τε Ἀθήνας κατεπέμπετο καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν κατάγειν σφᾶς Μεσσηνίους καὶ  
 7 Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα τοῦτο Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠνίασεν, ὥς οὔτε ἄλλως πάσχοντας δίκαια ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀνωφελές προσηργμένων σφίσιν ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Αἰτωλῶν ἐναντία καὶ αὐθις Ἀντιόχου στρατεύσαντες χάριτι τῇ<sup>2</sup> ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐγίνοντο ὕστεροι φυγάδων ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐ καθαρῶν χεῖρας· ὅμως δὲ εἴκειν σφίσιν ἐδόκει

Χ. Τότε μὲν δὴ ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐπράχθη· τολμημάτων δὲ τὸ ἀνοσιώτατον, τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἄνδρας προδιδόναι πολίτας ἐπὶ οἰκείοις κέρδεσιν, ἔμελλε καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς κακῶν ἄρξειν, οὔποτε ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παντὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκλιπόν· ἐπὶ μὲν γε Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου βασιλεύοντος Περσῶν Ἴωσι τὰ πράγματα ἐφθάρη Σαμίων πλὴν ενός τε καὶ δέκα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἄλλων τριηράρχων τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ἰώνων προδόντων·

Lacedaemonian exiles carried on various intrigues against the Achaeans, hoping to vex them most by the following plot. They persuaded to go up to Rome the exiles of the Achaeans, along with the Messenians who had been held to be involved in the death of Philopoemen and banished on that account by the Achaeans. Going up with them to Rome they intrigued for the restoration of the exiles. As Appius was a zealous supporter of the Lacedaemonians and opposed the Achaeans in everything, the plans of the Messenian and Achaean exiles were bound to enjoy an easy success. Despatches were at once sent by the senate to Athens and Aetolia, with instructions to bring back the Messenians and Achaeans to their homes. This caused the greatest vexation to the Achaeans. They bethought themselves of the injustice they had suffered at the hands of the Romans, and how all their services had proved of no avail; to please the Romans they had made war against Philip, against the Aetolians and afterwards against Antiochus, and after all there was preferred before them a band of exiles, whose hands were stained with blood. Nevertheless, they decided to give way.

X Such were the events that took place on this occasion. The most impious of all crimes, the betrayal for private gain of fatherland and fellow-citizens, was destined to be the beginning of woes for the Achaeans as for others, for it has never been absent from Greece since the birth of time. In the reign of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, the king of Persia, the cause of the Ionians was ruined because all the Samian captains except eleven betrayed

<sup>1</sup> τῆν is not in the MSS

<sup>2</sup> τῆ is not in the MSS.

- 2 μετὰ δὲ Ἴωνας κεχειρωμένους ἠνδραποδίσαντο καὶ Ἑρέτριαν Μῆδοι, προδότηι δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ εὐδοκιμούντες μάλιστα ἐν Ἑρετρίᾳ Φίλαγρος Κυνέου καὶ Εὐφορβος Ἀλκιμάχου. Ξέρξη δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλαύνοντι Θεσσαλία τε δι' Ἀλευάδου προεδόθη, Θήβας δὲ Ἀτταγῖνος καὶ Τιμηγενίδας προδιδόασι φερόμενοι τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Θήβαις. Πελοποννησίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολεμσάντων Ξενίας Ἥλειος ἐπεχείρησεν Ἥλιον
- 3 Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀγιδι προδοῦναι, οἳ τε Λυσάνδρου καλούμενοι ξένοι χρόνον οὐδένα ἀνέσαν πατρίδας ἐγχειρίζοντες Λυσάνδρῳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου βασιλείαν τοῦ Ἀμύντου Λακεδαίμονα πόλεων μόνην οὐ προδοθεῖσαν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησιν εὖροι τις ἄν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὑπὸ προδοσίας μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ νόσου πρότερον τῆς λοιμώδους ἐφθάρησαν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ Φιλίππου παρέσχεν ἡ εὐτυχία μικρὰ ἀνδρῶν προδοτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄξια λόγου
- 4 προσδεηθῆναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἐν Λαμίας πταῖσμα ἐγένετο Ἑλλησιν, Ἀντίπατρος μὲν, ἅτε διαβῆναι ποιούμενος σπουδὴν πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεμον, ἐβούλετο εἰρήνην ἐν τάχει συντίθεσθαι, καὶ οἱ διέφερεν οὐδὲν εἰ Ἀθήνας τε ἐλευθέραν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα ἀφήσει. Δημάδης δὲ καὶ ὅσον προδοτῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἄλλο ἦν, ἀναπείθουσιν Ἀντίπατρον μηδὲν εἰς Ἑλλήνας φρονῆσαι φιλάνθρωπον, ἐκφοβήσαντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων τὸν δῆμον εἰς τε Ἀθήνας καὶ πόλεων τῶν ἄλλων τὰς πολλὰς ἐγένοντο αἴτιοι Μακεδόνων ἐσαχθῆναι φρουράς.
- 5 βεβαιοῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε τὸν λόγον. Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ μετὰ τὸ ἀτύχημα τὸ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς οὐκ ἐγένοντο

the Ionian fleet. " After reducing Ionia the Persians enslaved Eretria also, the most famous citizens turning traitors, Philagrus, the son of Cyneas, and Euphorbus, the son of Alcimachus. When Xerxes 480 B invaded Greece, Thessaly was betrayed by Aleuades,<sup>1</sup> and Thebes by Attaginus and Timegenidas, who were the foremost citizens of Thebes. After the Peloponnesian war, Xenias of Elis attempted to betray Elis to the Lacedaemonians under Agis, and the so-called "friends" of Lysander at no time relaxed their efforts to hand over their countries to him. In the reign of Philip, the son of Amyntas, Lacedaemon is the only Greek city to be found that was not betrayed, the other cities in Greece were ruined more by treachery than they had been previously by the plague. Alexander, the son of Philip, was so favoured by fortune that he had little need worth mentioning of traitors. But when the Greeks suffered defeat at Lamia, Antipater, in 322 B his eagerness to cross over to the war in Asia, wished to patch up a peace quickly, and it mattered nothing to him if he left free Athens and the whole of Greece. But Demades and the other traitors at Athens persuaded Antipater to have no kindly thoughts towards the Greeks, and by frightening the Athenian people were the cause of Macedonian garrisons being brought into Athens and most other cities. My statement is confirmed by the following fact. The Athenians after the disaster in Boeotia did not become subjects of Philip,

<sup>1</sup> Sylburg would read 'Αλεuadaῶν, "by the Aleuads."

Φιλίππου κατήκοοι, ἀλόντων μὲν σφισι δισχιλίων, ὥς ἐκρατήθησαν, παρὰ τὸ ἔργον, χιλίων δὲ φονευθέντων· ἐν Λαμῖα δὲ περὶ διακοσίους πεσόντων καὶ οὐ πλέον τι, Μακεδόσιν ἐδουλώθησαν. οὕτω μὲν οὐποτε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπέλειπον οἱ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ νοσήσαντες· Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιὸς Καλλικράτης τηνικαῦτα ἐς ἅπαν ἐποίει Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχειρίους. ἀρχὴ δὲ σφισιν ἐγένετο κακῶν Περσεὺς καὶ ἡ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴ καταλυθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

- 6 Περσεὶ τῷ Φιλίππου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἄγοντι εἰρήνην κατὰ συνθήκας, ἧς ὁ πατὴρ οἱ Φίλιππος ἐποίησατο, ἐπῆλθεν ὑπερβῆναι τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ ἐπὶ τε Σαπαίους καὶ<sup>1</sup> Σαπαίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀβρούπολιν στράτευμα ἀγαγὼν ἐποίησεν ἀναστάτους Ῥωμαίων συμμάχους ὄντας· Σαπαίων δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ μνήμην
- 7 ἔσχε. Μακεδόνων δὲ καὶ Περσεὺς κεχειρωμένων πολέμῳ διὰ τὸ ἐς Σαπαίους ἀδίκημα, ἄνδρες τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς δέκα ἐπέμφθησαν καταστησόμενοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον Ῥωμαίοις τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ἤκοντας δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπῆρχετο ὁ Καλλικράτης οὔτε ἔργον τῶν ἐς τὴν κολακείαν οὔτε λόγον οὐδένα ἐς αὐτοὺς παριείς· ἓνα δὲ τινα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρα οὐδαμῶς ἐς δικαιοσύνην πρόθυμον, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα προσεποιήσατο ὁ Καλλικράτης ἐς τοσούτον ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριον ἐσελθεῖν
- 8 τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἔπεισεν. ὁ δὲ ὥς ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐσῆλθεν, ἔλεγεν ὡς πολεμοῦντι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους Περσεὶ χρήματα οἱ δυνατώτατοι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παράσχοιεν, συνάraitο δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα·

although they lost two thousand prisoners in the action and one thousand killed. But when about two hundred at most fell at Lamia they were enslaved by the Lacedaemonians. So the plague of treachery never failed to afflict Greece, and it was an Achaean, Callicrates, who at the time I speak of made the Achaeans completely subject to Rome. But the beginning of their troubles proved to be Perseus and the destruction by the Romans of the Macedonian empire.

Perseus, the son of Philip, who was at peace with Rome in accordance with a treaty his father Philip had made, resolved to break the oaths, and leading an army against the Sapaean and their king Abiropolis, allies of the Romans, made their country desolate. These Sapaean Archilochus<sup>1</sup> mentions in an iambic line. The Macedonians and Perseus were conquered because of this wrong done to the Sapaean, and afterwards ten Roman senators were sent to arrange the affairs of Macedonia in the best interests of the Romans. When they came to Greece, Callicrates curried favour with them, no form of flattery, whether in word or in deed, being too gross for him to use. One member of the commission, a most dishonourable man, Callicrates so captivated that he actually persuaded him to attend the meeting of the Achaean League. When he entered the assembly he declared that while Perseus was at war with Rome the most influential Achaeans, besides helping him generally, had supplied him with money. So he required the

<sup>1</sup> Fr 49 (Bergk).

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<sup>1</sup> Σαπαίους καὶ added by Schleiermacher.



- ἐκέλευσεν οὖν καταγνῶναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς θάνατον· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καταγνοῖεν, τότε καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ὀνόματα ἐρεῖν ἔφασκε τῶν ἀνδρῶν. λέγειν τε δὴ ἐδόκει παντάπασιν ἄδικα καὶ αὐτὸν ἡξίουσι οἱ ἐς τὸν σύλλογον ἐλληλυθότες ἤδη, εἰ Περσεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ Ἀχαιῶν τινες ἔπραξαν, ὀνομαστὶ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου μνησθῆναι, πρότερον δὲ οὐ σφᾶς κατα-  
9 γινώσκειν εἰκὸς εἶναι. ἔνθα δὴ ὡς ἡλέγχετο ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ἀπετόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς οἱ ἐστρατηγη-  
κότες Ἀχαιῶν ἐνέχονται πάντες τῇ αἰτίᾳ· πάντας γὰρ φρονῆσαι τὰ Μακεδόνων τε καὶ Περσέως. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ διδασκαλίᾳ Καλλι-  
κράτους· ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ξένων—ἦν δὲ ὁ Ξένων<sup>1</sup> οὗτος οὐκ ἐλαχίστου λόγου παρὰ Ἀχαιοῖς—“οὕτως” ἔφη “κατὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει ταύτην· ἐστρατηγήσα μὲν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἐγώ, ἀδικίας δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίους οὐδὲ εὐνοίας μοι μέτεστιν ἐς Περσέα· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα ἐθέλω μὲν ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν, ἐθέλω δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑπέχειν κρίσιν” ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ συνει-  
10 δότος ἐπαρρησιάζετο ἀγαθοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἐπελάβετο αὐτίκα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος τῆς προφάσεως, καὶ ὅποσοις Καλλικράτης ἐπῆγεν αἰτίαν Περσεὶ σφᾶς φρο-  
νῆσαι τὰ αὐτά, ἀνέπεμπεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρίσιν τῷ Ῥωμαίων ὑφέξοντας. ὁ μὴ πω κατειλήφει πρότερον “Ἑλληνας· οὐδὲ γὰρ Μακεδόνων οἱ ἰσχύσαντες μέγιστον, Φίλιππος Ἀμύντου καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας σφίσιν Ἑλλή-  
νων ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐβιάσαντο ἀποσταλῆναι, δίδόναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσιν εἶων λόγον.  
11 τότε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὄντινα καὶ ἀναίτιον Καλλικράτης ἐθέλησειεν αἰτιάσασθαι, ἀνάγεσθαι  
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Achaean to condemn them to death. After their condemnation, he said, he would himself disclose the names of the culprits. His words were regarded as absolutely unfair, and the members present demanded that, if certain Achaeans had sided with Perseus, their individual names should be mentioned, it being unreasonable to condemn them before this was done. Thereupon the Roman, as he was getting the worst of the argument, brazenly asserted that every Achaean who had held the office of general was included in his accusation, since one and all had favoured the cause of the Macedonians and Perseus. This he said at the bidding of Callicrates. After him rose Xenon, a man of great repute among the Achaeans, and said: "The truth about this accusation is as follows. I myself have served the Achaeans as their general, but I am guilty neither of treachery to Rome nor of friendship to Perseus. I am therefore ready to submit to trial either before the Achaean diet or before the Romans themselves." This frank speech was prompted by a clear conscience, but the Roman at once grasped the pretext, and sent for trial before the Roman court all those whom Callicrates accused of supporting Perseus. Never before had Greeks been so treated, for not even the most powerful of the Macedonians, Philip, the son of Amyntas, and Alexander, despatched by force to Macedonia the Greeks who were opposed to them, but allowed them to plead their case before the Amphictyons. But on this <sup>167 B.</sup> occasion it was decided to send up to Rome every one of the Achaean people, however innocent, whom

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<sup>1</sup> ἦν δὲ ὁ Ξένων added by Dindorf.

πάντα τινὰ ἐκεκύρωτο ἐς Ῥώμην· καὶ ἐγένοντο  
 ὑπὲρ χιλίους οἱ ἀναχθέντες. τούτους ὑπὸ  
 Ἀχαιῶν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προκατεγνώσθαι νομίζοντες  
 ἐς τε Τυρσηνίαν καὶ ἐς τὰς ἐκεῖ διέπεμψαν  
 πόλεις, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν πρεσβείας τε καὶ ἱκεσίας ἐπιπεμπόντων  
 12 λόγον ἐποιοῦντο οὐδένα. ἐπτακαιδεκάτῳ δὲ  
 ὕστερον ἔτει τριακοσίους ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσονας, οἱ  
 μόνοι περὶ Ἰταλίαν Ἀχαιῶν ἔτι ἐλείποντο, ἀφια-  
 σιν, ἀποχρώντως κολασθῆναι σφᾶς ἡγούμενοι.  
 ὅσοι δὲ ἀποδράντες ὥχοντο ἢ εὐθὺς ἡνίκα ἀνή-  
 γοντο ἐς Ῥώμην ἢ ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐς  
 ἃς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθησαν, πρόφασις οὐδεμία  
 ἦν τούτους ἀλόντας μὴ ὑποσχεῖν δίκην.

XI. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὖθις ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς  
 καταπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ὄνομα μὲν τῷ  
 ἀνδρὶ ἦν Γάλλος, ἀπέσταλτο δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις  
 καὶ Ἀργείοις ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης γενέσ-  
 θαι δικαστῆς. οὗτος ὁ Γάλλος ἐς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν  
 πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἔπραξεν ὑπερή-  
 φανα, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους τὸ παρά-  
 2 παν ἔθετο ἐν χλευασίᾳ· πόλεσι γὰρ ἐς τοσοῦτο  
 ἡκούσαις ἀξιώματος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄρων τῆς  
 χώρας τὰ μὲν παλαιότερα ἐς οὐκ ἀφανῆ πόλεμον  
 καὶ ἔργα οὕτως ἀφειδῇ προαχθείσαις, κριθείσαις  
 δὲ καὶ ὕστερον παρὰ δικαστῇ κοινῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ  
 Ἀμύντου, αὐτὸς μὲν σφισιν ὁ Γάλλος ἀπηξίωσε  
 δικαστῆς καταστήναι, Καλλικράτει δὲ ἀπάσης  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνδρὶ ἀλάστορι ἐπιτρέπει τὴν  
 3 κρίσιν. ἀφίκοντο δὲ ὥς τὸν Γάλλον καὶ Αἰτωλῶν  
 οἱ Πλευρώια οἰκοῦντες. συντελείας τῆς ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἐθέλοντες ἄφεσιν εὔρασθαι· καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπετράπη

Callicrates chose to accuse. They amounted to over a thousand men. The Romans, holding that all these had already been condemned by the Achaeans, distributed them throughout Etruria and its cities, and though the Achaeans sent embassy after embassy to plead on behalf of the men, no notice was taken of the petitions. Sixteen years later, <sup>151</sup> when the number of Achaeans in Italy was reduced to three hundred at most, the Romans set them free, considering that their punishment was sufficient. But those who ran away, either at once when they were being brought up to Rome, or later on from the cities to which the Romans sent them, were saved from punishment by no defence if they were recaptured.

XI. The Romans again despatched a senator to Greece. His name was Gallus, and his instructions were to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Argives in the case of a disputed piece of territory. This Gallus on many occasions behaved towards the Greek race with great arrogance, both in word and deed, while he made a complete mock of the Lacedaemonians and Argives. These states had reached the highest degree of renown, and in a famous war of old had poured out their blood like water because of a dispute about boundaries, while later Philip, the son of Amyntas, had acted as arbitrator to settle their differences, yet now Gallus disdained to arbitrate in person, and entrusted the decision to Callicrates, the most abominable wretch in all Greece. There also came to Gallus the Aetolians living at Pleuron, who wished to detach themselves from the Achaean confederacy. Gallus

μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γάλλου πρεσβεῖαν ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν  
 ἰδία παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐπετράπη δὲ  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων συνεδρίου τοῦ<sup>1</sup> Ἀχαιῶν ἀποστή-  
 ναι. προσεπεστάλη δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς τῷ  
 Γάλλῳ πόλεις ὅποσας ἐστὶν οἷός τε<sup>2</sup> πλείστας  
 ἀφεῖναι συλλόγου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν.

- 4 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐποίει, Ἀθηναίων δὲ  
 ὁ δῆμος ἀνάγκη πλέον ἢ ἐκουσίως διαρπάζουσιν  
 Ὠρωπὸν ὑπήκοόν σφισιν οὔσαν· πενίας γὰρ ἐς  
 τὸ ἔσχατον Ἀθηναῖοι τηνικαῦτα ἦκον ἅτε ὑπὸ  
 Μακεδόνων πολέμῳ<sup>3</sup> πιεσθέντες μάλιστα Ἑλλή-  
 νων. καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 βουλὴν οἱ Ὠρώπιοι· καὶ δόξαντες παθεῖν οὐ  
 δίκαια, ἐπεστάλη Σικυωνίοις ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς  
 ἐπιβάλλειν σφᾶς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς Ὠρωπίους  
 ζημίαν κατὰ τῆς βλάβης ἧς ἤρξαν τὴν ἀξίαν.  
 5 Σικυώνιοι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀφικομένοις ἐς καιρὸν τῆς  
 κρίσεως Ἀθηναίοις ζημίαν πεντακόσια τάλαντα  
 ἐπιβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἡ βουλὴ δεηθεῖσιν  
 Ἀθηναίοις ἀφίησι πλὴν τάλαντων ἑκατὸν τὴν  
 ἄλλην ζημίαν· ἐξέτισαν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ ὑποσχέσεσι καὶ δώροις ὑπελ-  
 θόντες Ὠρωπίους ὑπάγονται σφᾶς ἐς ὁμολογίαν  
 φρουρὰν τε Ἀθηναίων ἐσελθεῖν ἐς Ὠρωπὸν καὶ  
 ὁμήρους λαβεῖν παρὰ Ὠρωπίων Ἀθηναίους· ἣν  
 δὲ αὐθις ἐς Ἀθηναίους γένηται ἔγκλημα Ὠρω-  
 πίοις, τὴν φρουρὰν τότε ἀπάγειν παρ' αὐτῶν  
 Ἀθηναίους, ἀποδοῦναι δὲ καὶ ὀπίσω τοὺς ὁμή-  
 6 ρους. χρόνος τε δὴ οὐ πολὺς ὁ μεταξὺ ἡνυστο,  
 καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν ἀδικοῦσιν ἄνδρες Ὠρωπίους.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ added by Dindorf.

allowed them to send on their own an embassy to Rome, and the Romans allowed them to secede from the Achaean League. The senate also commissioned Gallus to separate from the Achaean confederacy as many states as he could.

While he was carrying out his instructions, the Athenian populace sacked Oropus, a state subject to them. The act was one of necessity rather than of free-will, as the Athenians at the time suffered the direst poverty, because the Macedonian war had crushed them more than any other Greeks. So the Oropians appealed to the Roman senate. It decided that an injustice had been committed, and instructed the Sicyonians to inflict a fine on the Athenians commensurate with the unprovoked harm done by them to Oropus. When the Athenians did not appear in time for the trial, the Sicyonians inflicted on them a fine of five hundred talents, which the Roman senate on the appeal of the Athenians remitted with the exception of one hundred talents. Not even this reduced fine did the Athenians pay, but by promises and bribes they beguiled the Oropians into an agreement that an Athenian garrison should enter Oropus, and that the Athenians should take hostages from the Oropians. If in the future the Oropians should have any complaint to make against the Athenians, then the Athenians were to withdraw their garrison from Oropus and give the hostages back again. After no long interval the Oropians were wronged by certain of

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<sup>2</sup> Before *πλείστας* the MSS have *ὥς*

<sup>3</sup> For *πολέμῳ* the MSS have *πολέμῳ*

οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέστελλον ὁμήρους  
 τε ἀπαιτήσοντας καὶ φρουράν σφισιν ἐξάγειν  
 κατὰ τὰ συγκεείμενα ἐροῦντας· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ  
 οὐδέτερα ἔφασαν ποιήσειν, ἀνθρώπων γὰρ τῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ οὐ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δήμου τὸ  
 ἁμάρτημα εἶναι· τοὺς μέντοι αὐτὰ εἰργασμένους  
 7 ἐπηγγέλλοντο ὑφέξειν δίκην. οἱ δὲ Ὠρώπιοι  
 καταφεύγοντες ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς ἐδέοντο τιμωρῆσαί  
 σφισιν· Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ ἤρεσκε μὴ τιμωρεῖν φιλίᾳ τε  
 καὶ αἰδοῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Ὠρώπιοι  
 Μεναλκίδα, Λακεδαιμονίῳ μὲν γένος, στρατη-  
 γοῦντι δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε Ἀχαιῶν, ὑπισχνοῦνται  
 δέκα ταλάντων δόσιν, ἣν σφισιν ἐπικουρεῖν  
 Ἀχαιοὺς ἄγῃ· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων μετα-  
 δώσειν Καλλικράτει τὸ ἥμισυ ὑπισχνεῖτο,  
 ἰσχύοντι διὰ φιλίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν Ἀχαιοῖς  
 8 μέγιστον. προσγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Καλλικράτους  
 πρὸς τὴν Μεναλκίδου γνώμην ἐκεκύρωτο κατὰ  
 Ἀθηναίων ἀμύνειν Ὠρωπίοις. καὶ τις ἐξαγγέλλει  
 ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἕκαστος  
 τάχους εἶχεν ἐς τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐλθόντες καὶ αὖθις  
 κατασύραντες εἴ τι ἐν ταῖς προτέραις παρείτό  
 σφισιν ἀρπαγαῖς, ἀπάγουσι τὴν φρουράν.  
 Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ὑστερήσαντας τῆς βοηθείας Μεναλ-  
 κίδας μὲν καὶ Καλλικράτης ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τὴν  
 Ἀττικὴν ἐπειθον· ἀνθισταμένων δὲ ἄλλων τε  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος,  
 ἀνεχώρησεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα.

XII. Ὠρώπιοι δὲ καὶ ὠφελείας σφίσιν οὐ  
 γενομένης τῆς παρὰ Ἀχαιῶν, ὅμως ὑπὸ Μεναλκίδα  
 τὰ χρήματα ἐξεπράχθησαν· ὁ δὲ ὥς τὸ δωροδό-  
 κημα εἶχεν ἐν χειρὶ, ἐποιεῖτο συμφορὰν εἰ καὶ

the garrison. They accordingly despatched envoys to Athens to ask for the restoration of their hostages and to request that the garrison be withdrawn according to the agreement. The Athenians refused to do either of these things, saying that the blame lay, not with the Athenian people, but with the men of the garrison. They promised, however, that the culprits should be brought to account. The Oropians then appealed to the Achaeans for aid, but these refused to give it out of friendship and respect for the Athenians. Thereupon the Oropians promised Menalcidas, a Lacedaemonian who was then general of the Achaeans, a gift of ten talents if he would induce the Achaeans to help them. Menalcidas promised half of the money to Callicrates, who on account of his friendship with the Romans had most influence among the Achaeans. Callicrates was persuaded to adopt the plan of Menalcidas, and it was decided to help the Oropians against the Athenians. News of this was brought to the Athenians, who, with all the speed each could, came to Oropus, again dragged away anything they had overlooked in the previous raids, and brought away the garrison. As the Achaeans were too late to render help, Menalcidas and Callicrates urged them to invade Attica. But they met with opposition, especially from Lacedaemon, and the army withdrew.

XII. Though the Oropians had received no help from the Achaeans, nevertheless Menalcidas extorted the money from them. But when he had the bribe in his hands, he began to think it hard luck that he

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<sup>1</sup> τῶν is not in the MSS.



## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Καλλικράτει μεταδώσει τῶν λημμάτων. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀναβολαῖς καὶ ἀπάταις ἐχρήτο ἐς τὴν δόσιν, μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐτόλμησεν ἀποστρεῖν  
 2 ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος. βεβαιοῖ δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς ἄρ' ἦν καὶ πῦρ ἐς πλεόν ἄλλου πυρὸς καῖον καὶ λύκος ἀγριώτερος λύκων ἄλλων καὶ ὠκύτερος ἰέραξ ἰέρακος πέτεσθαι, εἶγε καὶ Καλλικράτην ἀνοσιώτατον τῶν τότε Μεναλκίδας<sup>1</sup> ὑπερῆρεν ἀπιστία, Καλλικράτην, ὃς ἐλάσσων παντοίου λήμματος καὶ ἐπὶ οὐδενὶ οἰκείῳ κέρδει πόλει τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀπηχθημένος παυσάμενον<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς Μεναλκίδα ἐδίωκεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς θανάτου δίκην· πρεσβεῦσαί τε γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν ἐναντία ἔφασκεν αὐτὸν ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα γενέσθαι πρόθυμον ἐξελέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην  
 3 συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν. ἐνταῦθα ὡς ἀφικνεῖτο ἐς πᾶν ὁ Μεναλκίδας κινδύνου, μεταδίδωσι τάλαντα τρία τῶν ἐξ Ὀρωποῦ Μεγαλοπολίτη Διαιῷ. ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρχῆς διάδοχος τῆς Ἀχαιῶν ὁ Δίαιος· τότε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λήμματος προθυμούμενος ἔμελλε Μεναλκίδα καὶ ἀκόντων Ἀχαιῶν σωτηρίαν παρέξειν Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἀφέσει τοῦ Μεναλκίδα ἰδίᾳ τε ἕκαστος καὶ ἐν κοινῷ Δίαιον ἐποιοῦντο ἐν αἰτίᾳ· Δίαιος δὲ σφᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλημάτων μετήγεν ἐς πραγμάτων ἐλπίδα μειζόνων, προφάσει  
 4 χρώμενος τοιαῦδε ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην. Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν· καταφεύγουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἡ βουλή δικάζεσθαι τὰ ἄλλα πλὴν ψυχῆς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τῷ Ἀχαιῶν. ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> Before ὑπερῆρεν the MSS read μὲν

had to share his gains with Callicrates. At first he had recourse to procrastination and deceit about payment, but shortly he plucked up courage and flatly refused to give anything. It confirms the truth of the proverb that one fire burns more fiercely than another, one wolf is more savage than other wolves, one hawk swifter than another, that Menalcidas outdid in treachery Callicrates, the worst rascal of his time, one who could never resist a bribe of any kind. He fell foul of the Athenians without gaining anything, and, when Menalcidas laid down his office, accused him before the Achaeans on a capital charge. He said that Menalcidas, when on an embassy to Rome, had worked against the Achaeans and had done all he could to separate Sparta from the Achaean League. Thereupon, as the danger he ran was extreme, Menalcidas gave three of the talents he received from Oropus to Diaeus of Megalopolis, who had succeeded him as general of the Achaeans, and on this occasion was so active, because of the bribe, that he succeeded in saving Menalcidas in spite of the opposition of the Achaeans. The Achaeans, individually and as a body, held Diaeus responsible for the acquittal of Menalcidas, but he distracted their attention from the charges made against him by directing it towards more ambitious hopes, using to deceive them the following pretext. The Lacedaemonians appealed to the Roman senate about a disputed territory, and the senate replied to the appeal by decreeing that all except capital cases should be under the jurisdiction of the Achaean League. Such was the

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<sup>2</sup> Before τῆς the MSS read μὲν

ἀπεκρίνατο· Δίαιος δὲ οὐ τὸν ὄντα ἔλεγεν  
 Ἀχαιοῖς λόγον, ψυχαγωγῶν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε  
 παρὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων σφίσιν ἐφείσθαι βουλῆς καὶ  
 θάνατον ἀνδρὸς καταγνῶναι τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης.  
 5 οἱ μὲν δὴ δικάζειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡξίουں καὶ  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔτε  
 ἀληθῆ συνεχώρουν Δίαιον λέγειν καὶ ἀνάγειν  
 ἰθὺλον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων βουλήν· Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ  
 ἀντελαμβάνοντο αὐθις ἄλλου λόγου, πόλεις  
 ὕσαι τελοῦσιν ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς μηδεμίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς  
 καθεστηκέναι κυρίαν ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν  
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἰδίᾳ πρεσβείαν ἀποστέλλειν.  
 6 πόλεμός τε δὴ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμφισβητημάτων τούτων  
 Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦρχετο καὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιοι συνιέντες οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 εἶναι πρεσβείαις ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν  
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν Δίαιον λόγοις· αἱ μὲν δὴ κατὰ  
 τὰ αὐτὰ αἱ πόλεις ἐποιοῦντο τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, οὐ  
 σφισιν ἔξοδον ἐπαγγέλλοντος στρατηγοῦ παρ-  
 ακούειν εἶναι νόμον· Δίαιος γὰρ ἦρχε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 καὶ ἔφασκεν οὐ τῇ Σπάρτῃ, τοῖς δὲ ταρασσουσιν  
 7 αὐτὴν πολεμήσων ἀφίξεσθαι· ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν  
 γερόντων ὁπόσους ἡγοῦτο ἀδικεῖν, ἐσπέμπει σφίσιν  
 τεσσάρων ὀνόματα ἀνδρῶν καὶ εἴκοσι πρωτευόν-  
 των τὰ πάντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ· ἐνταῦθα Ἀγασισ-  
 θένους ἐνίκησε γνώμη δοκίμου καὶ τὰ πρότερα  
 ὄντος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παραινέσεως ταύτης προελ-  
 θόντος καὶ ἐς πλεον δόξης· ὃς τοὺς ἀνδρας τού-  
 τους ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐθελοντὰς  
 φεύγειν μηδὲ αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἐργάσασθαι τῇ  
 Σπάρτῃ πόλεμον, φυγόντας δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην καταχ-  
 θήσεσθαι σφᾶς οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ

senate's answer, but Diaeus did not tell the Achaeans the truth, but cajoled them by the declaration that the Roman senate had committed to them the right to condemn a Spartan to death. So the Achaeans claimed the right to try a Lacedaemonian on a capital charge, but the Lacedaemonians would not admit that Diaeus spoke the truth, and wished to refer the point to the Roman senate. But the Achaeans seized another pretext, that no state belonging to the Achaean League had the right to send an embassy on its own to the Roman senate, but only in conjunction with the rest of the League. These disputes were the cause of a war between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and the former, realising that they were not a match for their opponents, sent envoys to their cities and entered into personal negotiations with Diaeus. The cities all made the same reply, that it was unlawful to turn a deaf ear to their general when he proclaimed a campaign; for Diaeus, who was in command of the Achaeans, declared that he would march to make war, not on Sparta but on those that were troubling her. When the Spartan senate inquired how many he considered were guilty, he reported to them the names of twenty-four citizens of the very front rank in Sparta. Thereupon was carried a motion of Agasisthenes, whose advice on this occasion enhanced the already great reputation he enjoyed. He bade the twenty-four to go into voluntary exile from Lacedaemon, instead of bringing war upon Sparta by remaining where they were, if they exiled themselves to Rome, he declared, they would before long be restored to their country by

- 8 Ῥωμαίων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες ὑπήγοντο ὑπὸ  
 Σπαρτιατῶν ἐς δικαστήριον τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀποθα-  
 νεῖν ἦσαν κατεγνωσμένοι· ἀπεστάλησαν δὲ καὶ  
 ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν Καλλικράτης ἐς Ῥώμην καὶ Δίαιος  
 τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀντιδικήσοντας ἐπὶ  
 τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν  
 Καλλικράτης τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, οὐδὲ οἶδα εἰ ἀφικό-  
 μενος ἐς Ῥώμην ὠφέλησεν ἄν τι Ἀχαιοὺς ἢ  
 κακῶν σφισιν ἐγένετο μειζόνων ἀρχή· Δίαιος δὲ  
 ἐς ἀντιλογίαν Μεναλκίδα καταστάς ἐπὶ τῆς  
 βουλῆς πολλὰ μὲν εἶπε, τὰ δὲ ἤκουσεν οὐ σὺν  
 9 κόσμῳ. καὶ σφισιν ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ βουλή ἀπο-  
 στέλλειν πρέσβεις, οἱ κρινούσιν ὅσα Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς διάφορα ἦν ἐς ἀλλήλους.  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Ῥώμης πρέσβεσι σχολαιτέρα πῶς  
 ἐγένετο ἡ ὁδός, ὥστε ἐξαπατᾶν ὑπῆρχεν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς Διαίῳ τε Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Μεναλκίδα Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους· τοὺς μὲν δὴ παρήγεν ὁ Δίαιος ὡς τὰ  
 πάντα ἔπessθαι Λακεδαιμόνιοι σφισιν ὑπὸ τῆς  
 Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς εἰσιν ἐγνωσμένοι, Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους δὲ ὁ Μεναλκίδας ἡπάτα παντελῶς τοῦ  
 συνεδρεῦειν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοὺς  
 ἀπηλλάχθαι.

XIII. Αὐθις οὖν ἐκ τῶν ἀντιλογιῶν Λακεδαι-  
 μονίοις ὥρμηντο Ἀχαιοὶ πολεμεῖν, καὶ στρατὸς  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην ἠθροίζετο ὑπὸ Δαμοκρίτου  
 στρατηγεῖν τηνικαῦτα Ἀχαιῶν ἡρημένου. περὶ  
 δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἀφίκετο ἐς Μακε-  
 δονίαν στρατιά τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐπ'  
 αὐτῇ Μέτελλος, Ἀνδρίσκῳ τῷ Περσέως τοῦ  
 Φιλίππου πολεμήσοντας ἀφεστηκότι ἀπὸ Ῥω-  
 μαίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμος ἔμελλεν

the Romans. So they departed, underwent a nominal trial at Sparta, and were condemned to death. The Achaeans on their side despatched to Rome Callicrates and Diaeus to oppose the exiles from Sparta before the senate. Callicrates died of disease on the journey, and even if he had reached Rome I do not know that he would have been of any assistance to the Achaeans—perhaps he would have been the cause of greater troubles. The debate between Diaeus and Menalcidas before the senate was marked by fluency rather than by decency on either side. The answer of the senate to their remarks was that they were sending envoys to settle the disputes between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. The journey of the envoys from Rome proved rather slow, giving Diaeus a fresh opportunity of deceiving the Achaeans and Menalcidas of deceiving the Lacedaemonians. Diaeus misled the Achaeans into the belief that the Roman senate had decreed the complete subjection to them of the Lacedaemonians: Menalcidas deceived the Lacedaemonians into thinking that the Romans had entirely freed them from the Achaean League.

XIII So the result of the debate was that the Achaeans again came near to actual war with the Lacedaemonians, and Damocritus, who had been elected general of the Achaeans at this time, proceeded to mobilise an army against Sparta. But about this time there arrived in Macedonia a Roman force under Metellus, whose object was to put down the rebellion of Andiscus, the son of Perseus, the son of Philip. The war in Macedonia, it turned

ὥς ῥᾶστα κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον Ῥωμαίοις  
 2 κριθήσεται. Μέτελλος δὲ ἄνδρας ὑπὸ τῆς  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀπεσταλμένους βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀσίᾳ πράγματα ἐκέλευε, πρὶν ἢ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 διαβῆναι, τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτοὺς τοῖς Ἀχαιῶν ἐς  
 λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὅπλα μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην μὴ  
 ἐπιφέρειν σφίσιν ἀπαγορεύοντας, τὴν δὲ ἐκ  
 Ῥώμης παρουσίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν προερούντας  
 3 μένειν, οἳ κατὰ τοῦτο ἦσαν ἀπεσταλμένοι Λακε-  
 δαιμονίοις δικασταὶ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς γενέσθαι. οἳ  
 μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα Δαμοκρίτῳ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς  
 ἐπήγγελλον ἐφθακόσιν ἔξοδον ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα  
 πεποιῆσθαι καὶ—ἐώρων γὰρ πρὸς τὴν παραίνεσιν  
 ἀνθεστηκότα τὰ<sup>1</sup> Ἀχαιῶν—ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐς  
 τὴν Ἀσίαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑπὸ φρονήματος  
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσχύος ἔλαβον μὲν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ  
 ἐπεξῆλθον ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ οἰκίᾳ, βιασθέντες δὲ  
 οὐ μετὰ πολὺ, ὅσον μὲν ἐς χιλίους οἳ ἡλικία  
 μάλιστα αὐτῶν καὶ τόλμαις ἀκμάζοντες πίπτου-  
 σιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατιωτικόν, ὥς  
 4 ἕκαστος τάχους εἶχεν, ἔφευγον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.  
 εἰ δὲ ὁ Δαμόκριτος προθυμίαν ἐποιήσατο, τοῖς  
 φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ὁμοῦ καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς  
 ἐσδραμεῖν ὑπῆρξεν ἂν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Σπάρτης·  
 νῦν δὲ αὐτίκα τε ἀνεκάλεσεν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως  
 τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ ἐχρῆτο καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα κατα-  
 5 δρομαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ἀρπαγαῖς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἢ  
 συντόνῳ πολιορκίᾳ. Δαμοκρίτῳ μὲν οὖν ἀπαγα-  
 γόντι ὀπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιβάλλουσιν οἳ  
 Ἀχαιοὶ ζημίαν πεντήκοντα ἄτε ἀνδρὶ προδότῃ  
 τάλαντα, καὶ—οὐ γὰρ εἶχεν ἐκτίσαι—φεύγων  
 ὥχετο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου. Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιῶν

out, was easily decided in favour of the Romans, but Metellus urged the envoys, sent by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Asia, to parley with the chiefs of the Achaeans before making the crossing. They were to order them not to attack Sparta, but to await the arrival from Rome of the envoys sent for the purpose of arbitrating between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans. They delivered their instructions to the Achaeans under Damocritus when these had already begun a campaign against Lacedaemon, and so, realising that the Achaeans were set against their advice, proceeded on their way to Asia. The Lacedaemonians, with a spirit greater than their strength, took up arms, and sallied forth to defend their country. But they were soon crushed, a thousand of their bravest youths fell in the battle, and the rest of the soldiery fled towards the city with all the haste they could. If Damocritus had made a vigorous effort, the Achaeans could have dashed into the walls of Sparta along with the fugitives from the field of battle. As it was, he at once recalled the Achaeans from the pursuit, and confined his future operations to raids and plunder, instead of prosecuting the siege with energy. So Damocritus withdrew his army, and the Achaeans sentenced him to pay a fine of fifty talents for his treachery. Being unable to pay, he left the Peloponnesus and went into exile. Diaeus, who was

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<sup>1</sup> τὰ added by Bekker.



μετὰ Δαμόκριτον στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένος ἀποστεί-  
 λαντι αὐθις Μετέλλῳ πρέσβεις ὁμολόγησε  
 μηδένα ἐπάξειν Λακεδαιμονίοις πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ  
 ἔστ' ἂν ἤκωσιν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀναμενεῖν τοὺς δια-  
 6 λακτάς. στρατήγημα δὲ ἄλλο ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους παρεῦρε τοιόνδε· τὰ ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς  
 Σπάρτης πολίσματα ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπηγάγετο  
 εὐνοίαν, ἐσήγαγε δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ καὶ φρουράς, ὁρμη-  
 7 τήρια ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην Ἀχαιοὺς εἶναι. Μεναλ-  
 κίδας δὲ ἥρητο μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία  
 Διαίῳ στρατηγεῖν· ἐχόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τε τὴν  
 πᾶσαν πολέμου παρασκευὴν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῖς  
 χρήμασιν ἀσθενῶς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς σφισιν  
 ἀσπόρου μεμενηκυίας, ἐτόλμησεν<sup>1</sup> ὅμως τὰς  
 σπονδὰς ὑπερβῆναι καὶ πόλισμα Ἰασον ἐλὼν ἐξ  
 ἐπιδρομῆς ἐπόρθησεν, ἐν ὅροις μὲν χώρας τῆς  
 Λακωνικῆς, Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ὑπήκοον.  
 8 ἐξεγεύρας δὲ αὐθις Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 πόλεμον ἐν ἐγκλήμασί τε ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν  
 καὶ—οὐ γάρ τινα ἐκ τοῦ προσδοκωμένου  
 κινδύνου Λακεδαιμονίοις σωτηρίαν εὑρίσκειν—  
 ἀφίησιν ἐκουσίως τὴν ψυχὴν πίων φάρμακον.  
 καὶ Μεναλκίδα μὲν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο,  
 ἄρξαντι ἐν τῷ<sup>2</sup> τότε μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς ἂν ὁ  
 ἀμαθέστατος στρατηγός, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι τοῦ  
 Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνους ὥς ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἀδικώτατος.

XIV. Ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ οἱ  
 ἀποσταλέντες ἐκ Ῥώμης Λακεδαιμονίοις δικασταὶ  
 καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ὀρέστης·

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *δια* here or *πείθει*. Kruger suggested *ἐτόλμησεν*. Frazer keeps *πείθει*, in spite of the preceding genitive

elected general after Damocitus, agreed, when Metellus sent another embassy, to involve the Lacedaemonians in no war, but to await the arrival of the arbitrators from Rome. But he invented another trick to embarrass the Lacedaemonians. He induced the towns around Sparta to be friendly to the Achaeans, and even introduced garrisons into them, to be Achaean bases against Sparta. The Lacedaemonians elected Menalcidas to be their general against Diaeus, and although they were utterly unprepared for war, being especially ill-provided with money, while in addition their land had remained unsown, he nevertheless dared to break the truce,<sup>2</sup> and took by assault and sacked Iasus, a town on the borders of Laconia, but at that time subject to the Achaeans. Having again stirred up war between Lacedaemonians and Achaeans he incurred blame at the hands of his countrymen, and, failing to find a way of escape for the Lacedaemonians from the peril that threatened them, he took his own life by poison. Such was the end of Menalcidas. At the time he was in command of the Lacedaemonians, and previously he had commanded the Achaeans. In the former office he proved a most stupid general, in the latter an unparalleled villain.

XIV. There also arrived in Greece the envoys despatched from Rome to arbitrate between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, among them being

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<sup>2</sup> Here MSS have *ἐαυτοῦ νῆφ.*

ὁ δὲ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τε ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἔχοντας τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ Δίαιον ἐκάλει παρ' αὐτόν.  
 ἀφικομένοις δὲ ἔνθα ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἐσσηκισμένος,  
 ἀπεγύμνου τὸν πάντα σφίσιν ἤδη λόγον, ὡς  
 δίκαια ἡγοίτο ἢ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ μῆτε Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους τελεῖν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν μῆτε αὐτὴν Κόριν-  
 θον, ἀφείσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Ἡράκλειαν τὴν  
 πρὸς Οἶτῃ καὶ Ὀρχομενίους Ἀρκάδας συνεδρίου  
 τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν· γένους τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν τοῦ  
 Ἀχαιῶν μετεῖναι καὶ ὕστερον τὰς πόλεις προσ-  
 2 χωρῆσαι ταύτας πρὸς τὸ Ἀχαικόν. ταῦτα  
 Ὀρέστου λέγοντος οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 οὐδὲ τὸν πάντα ὑπομείναντες ἀκοῦσαι λόγον  
 ἔθεον ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐκάλουν  
 Ἀχαιοὺς ἐς ἐκκλησίαν· οἱ δὲ ὡς τὰ ἐγνωσμένα  
 ἐπύθοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, αὐτίκα ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας οἱ Κορίνθῳ τότε ἔτυχον ἐπιδη-  
 μοῦντες, συνήρπαζον δὲ πάντα τινὰ καὶ ὃν Λακε-  
 δαιμόνιον σαφῶς ὄντα ἡπίσταντο καὶ ὅτῳ κούρᾳς  
 ἢ ὑποδημάτων ἔνεκα ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐσθῇτι ἢ κατ'  
 ὄνομα προσγένοιτο ὑπόνοια· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ  
 3 καταφυγεῖν ἔνθα Ὀρέστης ᾤκει φθάνοντας ὁμῶς  
 καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐβιάζοντο ἔλκειν. Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ  
 οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τῆς τε τόλμης ἐπέχειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἐπειρῶντο καὶ ἐκέλευον μεμνησθαι σφᾶς ὡς  
 ἀδικημάτων καὶ ὕβρεως ἄρχουσιν ἐς Ῥωμαίους.  
 ἡμέραις δὲ ὕστερον οὐ πολλαῖς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ Λακε-  
 δαιμονίων μὲν αὐτῶν ὅσους εἶχον συνειληφότες,  
 κατατίθενται σφᾶς ἐς δεσμοπήριον, τοὺς ξένους  
 δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνοντες ἡφίεσαν. ἀποστέλ-  
 λουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην ἄλλους τε Ἀχαιῶν τῶν  
 ἐν τέλει καὶ Θεαρίδαν· ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθον, ἐντυχόντες

Orestes He invited to visit him the magistrates in each of the Greek cities, along with Diaeus When they arrived at his lodging, he proceeded to disclose to them the whole story, that the Roman senate decreed that neither the Lacedaemonians nor yet Corinth itself should belong to the Achaean League, and that Argos, Heracleia by Mount Oeta and the Arcadian Orchomenus should be released from the Achaean confederacy For they were not, he said, related at all to the Achaeans, and but late-comers to the League The magistrates of the Achaeans did not wait for Orestes to conclude, but while he was yet speaking ran out of the house and summoned the Achaeans to an assembly When the Achaeans heard the decision of the Romans, they at once turned against the Spartans who happened to be then residing in Corinth, and arrested every one, not only those whom they knew for certain to be Lacedaemonians, but also all those they suspected to be such from the cut of their hair, or because of their shoes, their clothes or even their names. Some of them, who succeeded in taking refuge in the lodging of Orestes, they actually attempted even from there to drag away by force. Orestes and his colleagues tried to check their violence, reminding them that they were committing unprovoked acts of criminal insolence against the Romans. A few days afterwards the Achaeans shut up in prison the Lacedaemonians they held under arrest, but separated from them the foreigners and let them go. They also despatched to Rome Thearidas, with certain other members of the Achaean government. These

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<sup>1</sup> δ δὲ is not in the MSS.

κατὰ τὴν ἄνοδον Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσιν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ὕστερον ἢ Ὀρέστης  
 ἀπεσταλμένοις, ὀπίσω καὶ αὐτοὶ τρέπονται.  
 4 Διαίω δὲ ἐξήκοντος τοῦ χρόνου τῆς ἀρχῆς  
 στρατηγεῖν ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἡρέθη Κριτόλαος. τοῦ-  
 τον δριμύς καὶ σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ τὸν Κριτόλαον  
 πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔρως ἔσχε· καὶ—ἔτυχον  
 γὰρ τότε ἤδη οἱ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦκοντες τὰ  
 Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν δικάσαι—ἀφίκετο  
 μὲν ἐν Τεγέα τῇ Ἀρκάδων τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐς  
 λόγους ὁ Κριτόλαος, ἀθροῖσαι δὲ Ἀχαιούς  
 σφισιν ἐς κοινὸν σύλλογον οὐδαμῶς ἠθέλεν,  
 ἀλλὰ ἐς μὲν ἐπήκοον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔπεμπε  
 ἀγγέλους κελεύων τοὺς συνέδρους καλεῖν ἐς τὸ  
 Ἀχαικόν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς συνέδροις ἐπέστελλεν ἐς  
 τὰς πόλεις ἀπολείπεσθαι σφᾶς τοῦ συλλόγου.  
 5 ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκοντο οἱ συνεδρεύσοντες, ἐνταῦθα ὁ  
 Κριτόλαος μάλιστα ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀπάτῃ πρὸς  
 Ῥωμαίους χρώμενος, ὃς ἄλλην ἐκέλευεν ἀναμέ-  
 νειν αὐτοὺς Ἀχαιῶν σύνοδον, ἐς μῆνα ἐσομένην  
 ἔκτον· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ διαλέξεσθαι σφισιν  
 ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Ἀχαιῶν ἔφασκε. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν ἐπεὶ ἀπατῶμενοι συνῆκαν, ἀπηλλάσ-  
 σοντο ἐς Ῥώμην· Κριτόλαος δὲ ἐς Κόρινθον  
 Ἀχαιούς ἀθροίσας ἀνέπεισε μὲν ἐπιφέρειν ὅπλα  
 ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀνέπεισε δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκ  
 6 τοῦ εὐθέος πόλεμον ἄρασθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄνδρα  
 βασιλέα καὶ πόλιν ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον καὶ μὴ  
 εὐτυχῆσαι συνέβη φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμόνων  
 ἢ τοῖς πολεμήσασι ποιεῖ<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἔγκλημα· θρασύτης  
 δὲ ἢ μετὰ ἀσθενείας μανία αὐ<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτυχία

<sup>1</sup> Another, perhaps better, reading is ποιεῖται (omitting τὸ)

set out, but meeting on the journey the Roman envoys who had been sent after Orestes to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, they too turned back. When the time came for Diaeus to relinquish his office, Critolaus was elected general by the Achaeans. This Critolaus was seized with a keen but utterly unthinking passion to make war against the Romans. The envoys from the Romans had by this time already arrived to adjudicate on the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, and Critolaus had a conference with them at Tegea in Arcadia, being most unwilling to summon the Achaeans to meet them in a general assembly. However, in the hearing of the Romans he sent messengers with instructions to summon the deputies to the assembly, but privately he sent orders to the deputies of the various cities to absent themselves from the meeting. When the deputies did not attend, Critolaus showed very clearly how he was hoodwinking the Romans. He urged them to wait for another meeting of the Achaeans, to take place five months later, declaring that he would not confer with them without the general assembly of the Achaeans. When the envoys realised that they were being deceived, they departed for Rome; but Critolaus summoned a meeting of the Achaeans at Corinth, and persuaded them both to take up arms against Sparta and also to declare war openly on Rome. For a king or state to undertake a war and be unlucky is due to the jealousy of some divinity rather than to the fault of the combatants; but audacity combined with weakness should be called madness rather than ill-luck.

καλοῖτο. ὁ δὲ καὶ Κριτόλαον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
ἔβλαψε παρώξυνε δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Πυθέας  
βοιωταρχῶν τηνικαῦτα ἐν Θήβαις, καὶ οἱ  
Θηβαῖοι συνεπιλήψεσθαι προθύμως ἐπηγγέλ-  
7 λοντο τοῦ πολέμου· ἐαλώκεσαν δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι  
πρώτην δίκην Μετέλλου δικάζοντος Φωκεῦσιν  
ἐκτίσαι ζημίαν, ὅτι ἐσέβαλον σὺν ὅπλοις ἐς γῆν  
τὴν Φωκίδα, δευτέραν Εὐβοεῦσιν, ἐδήλωσαν γὰρ καὶ  
Εὐβοέων τὴν χώραν, τρίτην δὲ Ἀμφισσεῦσι,  
τεμόντες καὶ τὴν Ἀμφισσέων περὶ ἀκμὴν σίτου.

XV. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρά τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν δι-  
δαχθέντες οὓς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέστειλαν καὶ  
ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἃ Μέτελλος ἐπέστελλεν,  
ἀδικεῖν Ἀχαιῶν κατέγνωσαν· καὶ ἦν γὰρ Μόμ-  
μιός σφισιν ὑπάτος τότε ἡρημένος, τοῦτον ναῦς  
τε καὶ στρατιὰν πεζὴν ἐκέλευον ἐπ' Ἀχαιοὺς  
ἄγειν. Μέτελλος δὲ παραυτίκα ἐπέπυστο ὥς  
Μόμμιος καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
ἀφίκοιτο.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν, εἰ ἐπιθεῖς αὐτὸς  
πέρας τῷ πολέμῳ φανῇ πρὶν ἢ Μόμμιον ἐς τὴν  
2 Ἑλλάδα ἀφίχθαι. ἀγγέλους οὖν παρὰ τοὺς  
Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπέστελλεν, ἀφιέναι κελεύων σφᾶς  
συντελείας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πόλεις ἄλλας  
ὁπόσας εἴρητο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ  
χρόνου τοῦ προτέρου σφίσιν ἀπειθείας οὐδεμίαν  
παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπισχνεῖτο ὀργὴν γενήσεσθαι.  
ἅμα τε δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ ἤλανυν ἐκ  
Μακεδονίας<sup>2</sup> τὸν στρατὸν, διὰ Θεσσαλίας τὴν  
πορείαν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν ποιούμενος  
κόλπον. Κριτόλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ λόγον

<sup>1</sup> It has been proposed to read ἀφίκοιτο.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS read ἐς μακεδονίαν

But it was such a combination that overthrew Critolaus and the Achaeans. The Achaeans were also encouraged by Pytheas, who at that time was Boeotarch at Thebes, and the Thebans promised to give enthusiastic support in the war. The Thebans had been sentenced, at the first ruling given by Metellus, to pay a fine for invading the territory of Phocis with an armed force; at the second to compensate the Euboeans for laying waste Euboea; at the third to compensate the people of Amphissa for ravaging their territory when the corn was ripe for harvest.

XV The Romans, learning the news from the envoys sent to Greece and from the despatches of Metellus, decided that the Achaeans were in the wrong, and they ordered Mummius, the consul elected for that year, to lead a fleet with a land force against them. As soon as Metellus learned that Mummius and his army were coming<sup>1</sup> to fight the Achaeans, he was full of enthusiasm to bring the war to a conclusion without help before Mummius reached Greece. So he despatched envoys to the Achaeans, bidding them release from the League the Lacedaemonians and the other states mentioned in the order of the Romans, promising that the Romans would entirely forgive them for their disobedience on the previous occasion. While making these proposals for peace he marched from Macedonia through Thessaly and along the gulf of Lamia. But Critolaus and the Achaeans would listen to no sug-

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the MSS, ἀφίκοιτο, should mean "had arrived," a meaning inconsistent with the end of the sentence. It seems likely, therefore, that Kayser's emendation, ἀφίξοιτο, is right.



## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

μὲν φέροντα ἐς σύμβασιν προσίεντο οὐδένα,  
 Ἡράκλειαν δὲ προσεκάθηντο πολιορκοῦντες οὐ  
 3 βουλομένους ἐς τὸ Ἀχαιικὸν συντελεῖν. τότε  
 δὲ ὡς παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ  
 Κριτόλαος Μέτελλον καὶ Ῥωμαίους διαβεβηκέναι  
 τὸν Σπερχειόν, ἀπέφευγεν ἐς Σκάρφειαν τὴν  
 Λοκρῶν, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ στενὸν τὸ Ἡρακλείας τε  
 μεταξὺ καὶ Θερμοπυλῶν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τάξας  
 ἐτόλμησεν ὑπομεῖναι Μέτελλον· ἀλλὰ ἐς τοσοῦτο  
 ἀφίκετο δείματος ὡς μηδὲ αὐτὸ ποιήσασθαι το  
 χωρίον πρὸς ἀμείνονος ἐλπίδος, ἔνθα ἦν μὲν  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰ ἐς Μήδους,  
 ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις τὰ ἐς Γαλάτας οὐδὲν  
 4 ἀφανέστερα ἐκείνων τολμήματα. ὑποφεύγοντας  
 δὲ Κριτόλαον καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς αἰροῦσιν ὀλίγον  
 πρὸ τῆς Σκαρφείας οἱ ὁμοῦ τῷ Μετέλλῳ, καὶ  
 ἀπέκτεινάν τε πλήθει πολλοὺς καὶ ἔλαβον  
 ζῶντας ὅσον χιλίους. Κριτόλαος δὲ οὔτε ὥφθη  
 ζῶν μετὰ τὴν μάχην οὔτε ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρέθη·  
 εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησε τῆς πρὸς τῇ Οἴτῃ θαλάσσης ἐς  
 ταύτης καταδύναι τὸ τέλμα, παντάπασιν ἔμελλεν  
 ἄγνωστός τε καὶ ἄπυστος οἰχέσσεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ  
 5 βυθοῦ. ἐς μὲν οὖν τὴν Κριτολάου τελευτὴν καὶ  
 ἄλλα πάρεστιν εἰκάζειν· Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐξεστρα-  
 τευμένοι λογάδες χίλιοι, οἳ Κριτολάῳ τοῦ ἔργου  
 μετέσχον, προῆλθον μὲν ἄχρι Ἑλατείας τῆς  
 Φωκῶν καὶ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατὰ  
 συγγένειαν δὴ τινα παλαιὰν ἐδέχθησαν· ὡς δὲ  
 τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἡ Κριτολάου συμφορὰ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἀπηγγέλλετο, ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλατείας κε-  
 6 λεύουσι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. ἀπιοῦσι δὲ ὀπίσω σφίσιν  
 ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον Μέτελλος καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι

gestions for an agreement, and sat down to besiege Heracleia, which refused to join the Achæan League. Then, when Critolaus was informed by his scouts that the Romans under Metellus had crossed the Spercheus, he fled to Scarpheia in Locris, without daring even to draw up the Achæans in the pass between Heracleia and Thermopylae, and to await Metellus there. To such a depth of terror did he sink that brighter hopes were not suggested even by the spot itself, the site of the Lacedæmonian effort to save Greece, and of the no less glorious exploit of the Athenians against the Gauls. Critolaus and the Achæans took to flight, but at a short distance from Scarpheia they were overtaken by the men of Metellus, who killed many and took about a thousand prisoners. Critolaus was neither seen alive after the battle nor found among the dead. If he dared to plunge into the marsh of the sea at the foot of Mount Oeta he must inevitably have sunk into the depths without leaving a trace to tell the tale. So the end of Critolaus offers a wide field for conjecture. A thousand picked troops of Arcadia, who had joined Critolaus in his enterprise, took the field and advanced as far as Elateia in Phocis, into which city they were received by the inhabitants on the ground of some supposed ancient connexion between them. But when the Phocians heard of the disaster to Critolaus and the Achæans, they ordered the Arcadians to depart from Elateia. As they were retreating to the Peloponnesus the Romans under Metellus fell upon them near

περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐπιφαίνονται· ἔνθα δὴ ἐπελάμβανε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐκ θεῶν δίκη τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, οἳ ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων ἐναντία ἀγωνιζομένους ἐγκαταλιπόντες Ἕλληνας τότε ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐκτείνοντο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.

- 7 Ἀχαιοῖς δὲ αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος παρῆει Δίαιος· καὶ δούλους τε ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἠφίει, τὸ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Ἀθηναίων βούλευμα τὸ<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μιμούμενος, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν συνέλεγε καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· ἐγένετο δέ, ἀναμεμιγμένων ὁμοῦ καὶ οἰκετῶν, τὸ ἀθροισθὲν ἐς ἑξακοσίους μὲν μάλιστα ἀριθμὸν ἵππεῖς, τὸ  
8 δὲ ὀπλιτεῦον τετρακισχίλιοί τε καὶ μύριοι. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Δίαιος ἐς ἅπαν ἀφίκετο ἀνοίας, ὃς Κριτόλαον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπιστάμενος παρασκευὴν κακῶς οὕτως ἀγωνισαμένην πρὸς Μέτελλον ἀπέλεξεν αὐτὸς ὅσον τετρακισχιλίους· καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔταξεν Ἀλκαμένην. ἀπεστέλλοντο δὲ ἐς Μέγαρα φρουρά τε εἶναι Μεγαρεῦσι τοῦ ἄστεως καί, ἣν Μέτελλος ἐπὶ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ πρόσω σφᾶς κωλύειν.  
9 Μέτελλος δὲ ὥς οἱ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν λογάδες κατέστρωντο οἱ Ἀρκάδων, ἀναστήσας τὸ στρατεύμα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· Ἡράκλειάν τε γὰρ ἐπολιόρκησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ ἀγῶνος τοῦ πρὸς Σκάρφειαν μετεσχέκεσαν. τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες ἐκλελοιπότες πᾶσα ἡλικία τὴν πόλιν ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν  
10 καὶ ἐς τῶν ὁρῶν τὰ ἄκρα ἀνέφευγον· Μέτελλος δὲ οὔτε ἱερὰ ἐμπιπράναι θεῶν οὔτε οἰκοδομήματα

Chaeroneia It was then that the vengeance of the Greek gods overtook the Arcadians, who were slain by the Romans on the very spot on which they had deserted from the Greeks who were struggling at Chaeroneia against the Macedonians under Philip

Diaeus once more came forward to command the Achaean army He proceeded to set free slaves, following the example of Miltiades and the Athenians before the battle of Marathon, and enlisted from the cities of the Achaeans and Arcadians those who were of military age The muster, including the slaves, amounted roughly to six hundred cavalry and fourteen thousand foot And here Diaeus sank into utter folly. Although he knew that Critolaus and the whole force of Achaia had put up such a poor fight against Metellus, he nevertheless detached about four thousand, put them under the command of Alcamenes, and despatched them to Megara to garrison the city, and to stay the advance of Metellus and the Romans, should they march that way. When the picked Arcadian troops had been overthrown near Chaeroneia, Metellus moved his army and marched against Thebes, for the Thebans had joined the Achaeans in investing Heracleia, and had taken part in the engagement of Scarpheia Then the inhabitants, of both sexes and of all ages, abandoned the city and wandered about Boeotia, or took refuge on the tops of the mountains. But Metellus would not allow either the burning of sanctuaries of the gods or the destruction of

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<sup>1</sup> τδ is not in the MSS.

- καθαιρεῖν εἶα, Θηβαίων τε τῶν ἄλλων μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι μηδένα μήτε αἰρεῖν φεύγοντα ἀπηγόρευε· Πυθέαν δὲ ἦν ἔλωσιν, ἀνάγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὥς αὐτόν· ἐξεύρητό τε δὴ αὐτίκα ὁ Πυθέας καὶ ἀναχθεὶς δίκην εἶχεν. ὥς δὲ πλησίον Μεγάρων ἐγίνετο ὁ στρατός, οὔτε ὑπέμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαμένην καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς Κόρινθον παρὰ τὸ
- 11 στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες. καὶ Μεγαρεῖς μὲν παραδιδόασιν ἀμαχεὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν, Μέτελλος δὲ ὥς ἀφίκετο παρὰ τὸν ἰσθμόν, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο καὶ τότε Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς<sup>1</sup> εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμολογίας προκαλούμενος· ἰσχυρὸς γάρ τις ἐνέκειτο αὐτῷ πόθος τὰ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἀχαιῶν κατεργασθῆναι δι' αὐτοῦ.
- XVI. Τούτῳ μὲν ταῦτα ἐσπευκότι Δίαιος ἠναντιοῦτο ὑπὸ ἀγνωμοσύνης· Μόμμιος δὲ Ὁρέστην ἅμα ἀγόμενος, τὸν πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων διαφορᾷ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθόντα, ἀφίκετο μὲν περὶ ὄρθρον ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύμα, ἀποπέμψας δὲ ἐς Μακεδονίαν Μέτελλον καὶ ὅσον εἶπετο ἐκείνῳ, ἀνέμενεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀθροισθῆναι παρασκευήν. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἱππικὸν μὲν πεντακόσιοί τε καὶ τρισχίλιοι, τοῦ πεζοῦ δὲ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο ἐς μυριάδας δύο προσόντων καὶ τούτοις τρισχιλίων· ἐπῆλθον δὲ καὶ τοξόται Κρήτες καὶ ἐκ Περγάμου τῆς ὑπὲρ Καίκου Φιλοποίμην στρατιώτας ἄγων παρὰ
- 2 Ἀττάλου. Μόμμιος μὲν δὴ τῶν τε ἐξ Ἰταλίας τινὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπικουρικὰ ἀπωτέρω δύο τε καὶ δέκα ἔταξε σταδίοις, πρὸ τοῦ παντὸς εἶναι στρατεύματος φυλακήν· Ἀχαιοὶ δέ, ἐχόντων ἀφυλακτότερον ὑπὸ φρονήματος τῶν Ῥωμαίων,

buildings, and he forbade his men to kill any Theban or take prisoner any fugitive. If, however, Pytheas should be caught, he was to be brought before him. Pytheas was discovered immediately, brought before Metellus and punished. When the army approached Megara, Alcamenes and his men did not face it, but straightway fled to the camp of the Achaeans at Corinth. The Megarians surrendered their city to the Romans without a blow, and when Metellus came to the Isthmus he again made overtures to the Achaeans for an agreed peace. For he was possessed of a strong desire to settle by himself the affairs of both Macedonia and Achaia. His efforts, however, were thwarted by the senselessness of Diaeus.

XVI. Mummius, bringing with him Orestes, the commissioner sent earlier to deal with the dispute between the Lacedaemonians and the Achaeans, reached the Roman army at early dawn, and sending Metellus and his forces to Macedonia, himself waited at the Isthmus for his whole force to assemble. There came three thousand five hundred cavalry, while the infantry amounted to twenty-three thousand. They were joined by a company of Cretan archers and by Philopoemen, at the head of some troops sent by Attalus from Pergamus on the Caicus. Certain of the Italian troops along with the auxiliaries were stationed by Mummius twelve stades away, to be an outpost for the whole army. The contempt of the Romans made them keep a careless look-out, and the Achaeans, attacking them

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<sup>1</sup> εἰς is not in the MSS.

- ἐπιτίθενται<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ φυλακῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς πρώτης, καὶ τοὺς μὲν φονεύουσι, πλείονας δὲ ἔτι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεῖρξαν, καὶ ἀσπίδας ὅσον τε πεντακοσίας εἶλον. ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ ἐπήρθησαν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἔξοδον πρότερον πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἄρχειν μάχης·
- 3 ὥς δὲ ἀντεπήγε καὶ ὁ Μόμμιος, οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἵππικόν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ταχθέντες αὐτίκα ὄχοντο φεύγοντες, τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου μηδὲ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον ὑπομείναντες· ὁ δὲ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων τῇ τροπῇ, δεξάμενοι δὲ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βιαζόμενοι τε τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἀπαγορεύοντες τοῖς τραύμασιν ὁμῶς ἀντεῖχον ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, πρὶν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων λογάδες χίλιοι προσπεσόντες κατὰ τὰ πλάγια ἐς τελέαν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς φυγὴν
- 4 κατέστησαν εἰ δὲ ἐτόλμησεν ἐσδραμεῖν μετὰ τὴν μάχην Δίαιος ἐς Κόρινθον καὶ ὑποδέξασθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ εὐρασθαί τι παρὰ Μομμίου οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐδυνήθησαν, ἐς πολιορκίαν καὶ τριβὴν πολέμου καταστάντες· νῦν δὲ ἄρχομένων ἔτι ἐνδιδόντι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐθὺς Μεγάλῃς πόλεως ἔφευγεν ὁ Δίαιος, οὐδέν τι γενόμενος ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς ὅμοιος ἢ καὶ Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἐμπέδου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους.
- 5 τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἱππαρχήσαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὅτε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τοῦ στόλου μετεσχέκεσαν ἀπώλλυντο πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ<sup>2</sup> τῷ Ἀσινάρῳ, τούτῳ τότε τῷ Καλλιστράτῳ παρέστη<sup>3</sup> τόλμα διεκπαῖσαι διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄγοντι τοὺς ἱππέας· ὥς δὲ τὸ πολὺ ἀπέσωσεν αὐτῶν ἐς Κατάνην, ἀνέστρεφεν ὀπίσω τὴν αὐτὴν αὐθις ὁδὸν ἐς

in the first watch, killed some, drove yet more back to the camp, and took some five hundred shields. Puffed up with this success the Achaeans marched out to battle before the Romans began their attack. But when Mummius advanced to meet them, the Achaean horse at once took to flight, without waiting for even the first charge of the Roman cavalry. The infantry were depressed at the rout of their horse, but nevertheless received the onslaught of the Roman men-at-arms; overwhelmed by numbers and faint with their wounds they offered a spirited resistance, until a thousand picked Romans fell upon their flank and utterly routed them. If after the battle Diaeus had boldly thrown himself into Corinth and received the fugitives within the walls, the Achaeans might have been able to get favourable terms from Mummius, by putting him to the trouble of a protracted siege. As it was, when the Achaeans were but beginning to yield, Diaeus fled straight for Megalopolis, his conduct towards the Achaeans showing a marked contrast to that of Callistratus, the son of Empedus, towards the Athenians. This man commanded some cavalry in Sicily, and when the Athenians and their partners in the expedition were being massacred at the river Asinarus, he courageously cut a way through the enemy at the head of his horsemen. He brought most of them safe to Catana, and then returned by the same way back

<sup>1</sup> Before ἐπὶ the MSS have τοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Before τῷ the MSS have τότε.

<sup>3</sup> For παρέρση the MSS. have παρέρχε.



- Συρακούσας, διαρπάζοντας δὲ ἔτι εὐρὼν τὸ Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον καταβάλλει τε ὅσον πέντε ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ τραύματα ἐπικάιρα αὐτὸς  
 6 καὶ ὁ ἵππος λαβόντες ἀφιάσι τὴν ψυχὴν. οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἀγαθὴν δόξαν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ αὐτῷ κτώμενος περιεποίησέ τε ὦν ἦρχε καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως· Δίαιος δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπολωλεκῶς Μεγαλοπολίταις κακῶν τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἦκεν ἄγγελος, ἀποκτείνας δὲ αὐτοχειρὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ γένοιτο αἰχμάλωτος, τελευτᾷ πίων φάρμακον, εἰκυῖαν μὲν παρασχόμενος Μεναλκίδα τὴν ἐς χρήματα πλεονεξίαν, εἰκυῖαν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸν θάνατον δειλίαν.
- 7 Ἀχαιῶν δὲ οἱ ἐς Κόρινθον ἀποσωθέντες μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπεδίδρασκον ὑπὸ νύκτα εὐθύς· ἀπεδίδρασκον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν Κορινθίων οἱ πολλοί. Μόμμιος δὲ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα, ἀναπεπταμένων ὅμως τῶν πυλῶν, ἐπεῖχεν ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον παρελθεῖν, ὑποκαθῆσθαι τινα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ὑποπτέυων ἐνέδραν· τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην  
 8 ἦρει τε κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἔκαιε Κόρινθον. τῶν δὲ ἐγκαταληφθέντων τὸ μὲν πολὺ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι φονεύουσι, γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἀπέδοτο Μόμμιος· ἀπέδοτο δὲ καὶ οἰκέτας, ὅσοι τῶν ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφεθέντων καὶ μαχесασμένων μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν μὴ εὐθύς ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ ἔργον ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ἀναθημάτων δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου τὰ μὲν μάλιστα ἀνήκοντα ἐς θαῦμα ἀνήγετο, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις οὐχ ὁμοίου λόγου Φιλοποίμενι ὁ Μόμμιος τῷ παρ' Ἀττάλου στρατηγῷ δίδωσι· καὶ ἦν Περγαμηνοῖς καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι  
 9 λάφυρα Κορίνθια. πόλεων δέ, ὅσαι Ῥωμαίων

to Syracuse Finding the enemy still plundering the Athenian camp, he cut down some five of them, and then both he and his horse received mortal wounds and died So he won glory for the Athenians and for himself, by saving the men under his command and seeking his own death But Diaeus having ruined the Achaeans came to tell the tidings of disaster to the people of Megalopolis, killed his wife with his own hand, just to save her from being taken prisoner, and then committed suicide by drinking poison He may be compared to Menalcidas for his avarice, and proved equally like him in the cowardice of his death.

As soon as night fell, the Achaeans who had escaped to Corinth after the battle fled from the city, and there fled with them most of the Corinthians themselves. At first Mummius hesitated to enter Corinth, although the gates were open, as he suspected that an ambush had been laid within the walls But on the third day after the battle he proceeded to storm Corinth and to set it on fire The majority of those found in it were put to the sword by the Romans, but the women and children Mummius sold into slavery. He also sold all the slaves who had been set free, had fought on the side of the Achaeans, and had not fallen at once on the field of battle. The most admired votive offerings and works of art were carried off by Mummius; those of less account he gave to Philopoemen, the general sent by Attalus; even in my day there were Corinthian spoils at Pergamus. The walls of all the cities that had

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν, τείχῃ μὲν ὁ Μόμμιος κατέλυε καὶ ὄπλα ἀφηρεῖτο πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμβούλους ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων· ὥς δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς· καὶ φόρος τε ἐτάχθη τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες ἐκωλύοντο ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι· συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος τὰ ἐκάστων, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ ἐτέρωθί που τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κατελέλυτο ὁμοίως  
 10 πάντα. ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἐκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι, ἀφῆκαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοις ἐπεβεβλήκει Μόμμιος ζημίαν· Βοιωτοὺς τε γὰρ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις διακόσια ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτίσαι. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄφεσιν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὗροντο Ἕλληνες, ἡγεμῶν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀπεστέλλετο· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐχ Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ Ἀχαιᾶς ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι' <sup>1</sup> Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων. ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ἔσχεν οὗτος τέλος Ἀντιθέου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, Ὀλυμπιάδι δὲ ἐξηκοστῇ πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν, ἣν ἐνίκα Διόδωρος Σικυνώνιος.

XVII. Ἐς ἅπαν δὲ ἀσθενείας τότε μάλιστα κατῆλθεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, λυμανθεῖσα κατὰ μέρη

<sup>1</sup> Frazer would omit δι'.

<sup>1</sup> With Frazer's reading. "when the Romans subdued Greece, Achaia was at the head, etc."

made war against Rome Mummius demolished, disarming the inhabitants, even before assistant commissioners were despatched from Rome, and when these did arrive, he proceeded to put down democracies and to establish governments based on a property qualification. Tribute was imposed on Greece, and those with property were forbidden to acquire possessions in a foreign country. Racial confederacies, whether of Achaeans, or Phocians, or Boeotians, or of any other Greek people, were one and all put down. A few years later the Romans took pity on Greece, restored the various old racial confederacies, with the right to acquire property in a foreign country, and remitted the fines imposed by Mummius. For he had ordered the Boeotians to pay a hundred talents to the people of Heracleia and Euboea, and the Achaeans to pay two hundred to the Lacedaemonians. Although the Romans granted the Greeks remission of these payments, yet down to my day a Roman governor has been sent to the country. The Romans call him the Governor, not of Greece, but of Achaia, because the cause of the subjection of Greece was the Achaeans, at that time at the head of the Greek nation.<sup>1</sup> This war came to an end when Antitheus was archon at Athens, in the hundred and sixtieth Olympiad,<sup>2</sup> at which Diodorus of Sicily was 140 B.C. victorious.

XVII. It was at this time that Greece was struck with universal and utter prostration, although parts of it from the beginning had suffered ruin and

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias seems to have made a mistake, as Corinth was taken in 146 B.C.

καὶ διαπορθηθεῖσα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος.  
 Ἄργος μὲν, ἐς πλείστον ἀφικομένην δυνάμεως  
 πόλιν ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, ὁμοῦ τῇ μετα-  
 βολῇ τῇ ἐς Δωριέας ἐπέλιπε τὸ ἐκ τῆς τύχης  
 2 εὖμενές· τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀττικόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Πελοποννησίων πολέμου καὶ νόσου τῆς λοιμώδους  
 ἀνενεγκόν τε καὶ αὖθις ἀνανηξάμενον, ἔτεσιν  
 ἔμελλεν οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἢ Μακεδόνων ἀκμῇ  
 καθαιρήσειν· κατέσκηψε δὲ ἐκ Μακεδονίας καὶ  
 ἐς τὰς Βοιωτίας Θήβας τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου μήνιμα.  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ὁ Θηβαῖος καὶ  
 αὖθις ὁ Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμος ἐγένετο<sup>1</sup> ὅτε δὲ καὶ  
 μόγις, ἅτε ἐκ δένδρου λελωβημένου καὶ αὐοῦ  
 τὰ πλείονα, ἀνεβλάστησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸ  
 Ἀχαικόν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἡ κακία τῶν στρατηγησάντων  
 3 ἐκόλουσεν ἔτι αὐξανόμενον. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
 ἐς Νέρωνα ἡ βασιλεία περιῆλθεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων,  
 καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὁ Νέρων ἀφίησιν ἀπάντων, ἀλλαγὴν  
 πρὸς δῆμον ποιησάμενος τὸν Ῥωμαίων· Σαρδῶ  
 γὰρ τὴν νῆσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐδαίμονα ἀντὶ  
 Ἑλλάδος σφίσιν ἀντέδωκεν. ἀπιδόντι οὖν ἐς  
 τοῦτό μοι τοῦ Νέρωνος τὸ ἔργον ὀρθότατα  
 εἰρηκέναι Πλάτων ἐφαίνετο ὁ Ἀρίστωνος, ὅποσα  
 ἀδικήματα μεγέθει καὶ τολμήματί ἐστιν ὑπερ-  
 ηρκότα, οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώ-  
 πων, ψυχῆς δὲ γευναίας ὑπὸ ἀτόπου παιδείας  
 4 διεφθαρμένης. οὐ μὲν Ἑλλησὶ γε ἐξεγένετο  
 ὄνασθαι τοῦ δώρου· Οὐεσπασιανοῦ γὰρ μετὰ  
 Νέρωνα ἄρξαντος ἐς ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθη-

<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested to read *ἐρίνετο* for *ἐγένετο*, with Λακεδαιμονίους, the reading of some MSS, or to add *συμφορά* or *ὄλεθρος*.

devastation at the hand of heaven. Argos, a city that reached the zenith of its power in the days of the heroes, as they are called, was deserted by its good fortune at the Dorian revolution. The people of Attica, reviving after the Peloponnesian war and the plague, raised themselves again only to be struck down a few years later by the ascendancy of Macedonia. From Macedonia the wrath of Alexander swooped like a thunderbolt on Thebes of Boeotia. The Lacedaemonians suffered injury through Epaminondas of Thebes and again through the war with the Achaeans. And when painfully, like a shoot from a mutilated and mostly withered trunk, the Achaean power sprang up, it was cut short, while still growing, by the cowardice<sup>1</sup> of its generals. At a later time, when the Roman imperial power devolved upon Nero, he gave to the Roman people the very prosperous island of Sardinia in exchange for Greece, and then bestowed upon the latter complete freedom. When I considered this act of Nero it struck me how true is the remark of Plato, the son of Ariston, who says that the greatest and most daring crimes are committed, not by ordinary men, but by a noble soul ruined by a perverted education.<sup>2</sup> The Greeks, however, were not to profit by the gift. For in the reign of Vespasian, the next emperor after Nero, they be-

<sup>1</sup> *κακία* means literally "badness," and includes in this context all the bad qualities a *στρατηγός* could have—disloyalty and corruptibility as well as cowardice.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Rep.* 491 E

σαν, καὶ σφᾶς ὑποτελεῖς τε αὖθις ὁ Οὐεσπασιανὸς εἶναι φόρων καὶ ἀκούειν ἐκέλευσεν ἡγεμόνος, ἀπομεμαθηκέναι φήσας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

5 Τάδε μὲν οὕτω συμβάντα εὔρισκον· Ἀχαιοὶς δὲ ὄροι καὶ Ἡλείοις τῆς χώρας ποταμὸς τε Λάρισος καὶ Ἀθηναῖς ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἱαὸς ἐστὶ Λαρισαίας, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις Δύμη σταδίους ὅσων τε τριάκοντα<sup>1</sup> ἀπέχει τοῦ Λαρίσου. ταύτην Φίλιππος ὁ Δημητρίου πολεμῶν<sup>2</sup> μόνην τῶν Ἀχαικῶν ἔσχευ ὑπήκοον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αἰτία ταύτῃ Σουλπίκιος, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος Ῥωμαίων, ἐπέτρεψε τῇ στρατιᾷ διαρπάσαι τὴν Δύμην· Αὔγουστος δὲ ὕστερον καὶ προσένειμεν αὐτὴν Πατ-

6 ρεῦσιν. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα Πάλεια· ἐχόντων δὲ ἔτι Ἰώνων ὄνομά οἱ μετέθεντο τὸ<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' ἡμῶν, σαφῶς δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας Δύμης εἴτε ἀπὸ Δύμαντος τοῦ Αἰγυμίου. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἐπὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ Οἰβώτα οὐ προαχθείη ἂν<sup>4</sup> τις ἐς ἀλογίαν· Οἰβώτα γὰρ ἀνδρὶ Δυμαίῳ, σταδίου μὲν ἀνελομένῳ νίκην Ὀλυμπιάδι ἔκτη, εἰκόνης δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ περὶ τὴν ὀγδοηκοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀξιωθέντι, ἐπίγραμμα ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λέγον·

7 Οἰνία Οἰβώτας στάδιον νικῶν ὅδ' Ἀχαιὸς πατρίδα Πάλεια θῆκ' ὀνομαστοτέραν.

τοῦτο οὖν οὐκ ἂν τινι ἀλογίαν παραστήσειεν, εἰ

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *τριακοσίους* or *τετρακοσίους*

<sup>2</sup> *πόλεων* has been suggested

came embroiled in a civil war, Vespasian ordered that they should again pay tribute and be subject to a governor, saying that the Greek people had forgotten how to be free

To resume after my researches into Achaean history The boundary between Achaia and Elis is the river Larisus, and by the river is a temple of Larisaeon Athena, about thirty stades distant from the Larisus is Dyme, an Achaean city This was the only Achaean city that in his wars Philip the son of Demetrius made subject to him, and for this reason Sulpicius, another Roman governor, handed over Dyme to be sacked by his soldiery. Afterwards Augustus annexed it to Patrae Its more ancient name was Paleia, but the Ionians changed this to its modern name while they still occupied the city, I am uncertain whether they named it after Dyme, a native woman, or after Dymas, the son of Aegimius But nobody is likely to be led into a fallacy by the inscription on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia. Oebotas was a man of Dyme, who won the foot-race at the sixth Festival and was honoured, because of a Delphic oracle, with a statue erected in the eightieth Olympiad. On it is an inscription which says:—

756 B C

460-457  
B C

This Oebotas, an Achaean, the son of Oenias, by  
winning the foot-race,

Added to the renown of his fatherland Paleia.

This inscription should mislead nobody, although it

<sup>3</sup> τὸ is not in the MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἄν is not in the MSS



Πάλειαν ἀλλὰ μὴ Δύμην τὸ ἐπίγραμμα καλεῖ  
τὴν πόλιν· τὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότερα ὀνόματα ἐς  
ποίησιν ἐπάγεσθαι ἀντὶ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ὑστέρων καθεστη-  
κός ἐστιν Ἑλλησι, καὶ Ἀμφιάραόν τε καὶ  
Ἀδραστον Φορωνείδας καὶ Ἐρεχθείδην ἐπονομά-  
ζουσι τὸν Θησέα.

8 Ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως ἐστὶ τοῦ Δυμαίων  
ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τάφος Σωστράτου· μεираκίου  
δὲ ἦν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, γενέσθαι δὲ Ἡρακλέους  
ἐρώμενόν φασιν αὐτόν, καὶ—ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ τὸν  
Σώστρατον Ἡρακλέους ἔτι ὄντος μετὰ ἀνθρώπων  
—οὕτως οἱ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τό τε μνήμα αὐτὸν  
εἶναι τὸν ποιήσαντα καὶ ἀπαρχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν  
τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν δοῦναι. ἐπίθημα δὲ καὶ ἐς  
ἐμὲ ἔτι στήλη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ χώματος καὶ  
Ἡρακλῆς ἐπειρασμένος· ἐλέγετο δὲ ὡς οἱ  
ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ἐναγίζουσι τῷ Σωστράτῳ.

9 Δυμαίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα  
ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν  
σφισι Δινδυμήνῃ μητρὶ καὶ Ἀττῇ πεποιημένον.  
Ἀττῆς δὲ ὅστις ἦν, οὐδὲν οἶός τε ἦν ἀπόρρητον<sup>2</sup>  
ἐς αὐτὸν ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἑρμησιάνακτι μὲν τῷ  
τὰ ἐλεγεία γράψαντι πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ὡς υἱός  
τε ἦν Καλαοῦ Φρυγὸς καὶ ὡς οὐ τεκνοποιὸς ὑπὸ  
τῆς μητρὸς τεχθεῖη· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠϋξήτο, μετώκησεν  
ἐς Λυδίαν τῷ Ἑρμησιάνακτος λόγῳ καὶ Λυδοῖς  
ὄργια ἐτέλει Μητρός, ἐς τοσοῦτο ἤκων παρ' αὐτῇ  
τιμῆς ὡς Δία αὐτῇ<sup>3</sup> νεμεσήσαντα ὕν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα

<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ is not in the MSS.

calls the city Paleia and not Dyme. For it is the custom of Greek poets to use ancient names instead of more modern ones, just as they surname Amphiraus and Adiastrus Phorionids, and Theseus an Erechthid.

A little before the city of Dyme there is, on the right of the road, the grave of Sostratus. He was a native youth, loved they say by Heracles, who outliving Sostratus made him his tomb and gave him some hair from his head as a primal offering. Even to-day there is a slab on the top of the mound, with a figure of Heracles in relief. I was told that the natives also sacrifice to Sostratus as to a hero.

The people of Dyme have a temple of Athena with an extremely ancient image, they have as well a sanctuary built for the Dindymenian mother and Attis. As to Attis, I could learn no secret about him,<sup>1</sup> but Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, says in a poem that he was the son of Calaus the Phrygian, and that he was a eunuch from birth. The account of Hermesianax goes on to say that, on growing up, Attis migrated to Lydia and celebrated for the Lydians the orgies of the Mother; that he rose to such honour with her that Zeus, being wroth at it,<sup>2</sup> sent a boar to destroy the tillage of the

<sup>1</sup> Or, with the proposed addition of *ὅν* "Who Attis was I could not discover, as it is a religious secret."

<sup>2</sup> Or, reading *αὐτοῖς* and *\*Αττη*: "honour with them that Zeus, being wroth with him, sent, etc."

<sup>2</sup> After *ἀπόρρητον* it has been suggested that *ὅν* has fallen out.

<sup>3</sup> *\*Αττη* has been suggested for *αὐτῇ* and *αὐτοῖς* for the *αὐτῇ* preceding.

- 10 ἐπιπέμψαι τῶν Λυδῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἄλλοι τε τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἄττης ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱός· καὶ τι ἐπόμενον τούτοις Γαλατῶν δρώσιν οἱ Πεσσινοῦντα ἔχοντες, υἱὼν οὐχ ἀπτόμενοι. νομίζουσί γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄττην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιχώριός ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, Δία ὑπνωμένον ἀφεῖναι σπέρμα ἐς γῆν, τὴν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀνεῖναι δαίμονα διπλᾷ ἔχοντα αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυναικός· ὄνομα δὲ Ἄγδιστιν αὐτῷ τίθενται. θεοὶ δὲ Ἄγδιστιν δείσαντες<sup>1</sup> τὰ αἰδοῖά οἱ τὰ ἀνδρός ἀποκόπτουσιν.
- 11 ὥς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφύσα ἀμυγδαλῇ εἶχεν ὠραῖον τὸν καρπὸν, θυγατέρα τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ λαβεῖν φασι τοῦ καρποῦ·<sup>2</sup> ἐσθεμένης δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον καρπὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτίκα ἀφανής, αὐτῇ δὲ ἐκείνῃ τεκούσης δὲ τράγος περιεῖπε τὸν παῖδα ἐκκείμενον. ὥς δὲ αὐξανομένῳ κάλλους οἱ μετῆν πλεόν ἢ κατὰ εἶδος ἀνθρώπου, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἔσχεν Ἄγδιστιν. αὐξηθέντα δὲ Ἄττην ἀποστέλλουσιν ἐς Πεσσινοῦντα οἱ προσήκοντες συνοική-  
12 σοντα τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατρί· ὑμέναιος δὲ ἦδετο καὶ Ἄγδιστις ἐφίσταται καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀπέκοψε μανείς ὁ Ἄττης, ἀπέκοψε δὲ καὶ ὁ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ διδούς· Ἄγδιστιν δὲ μετάνοια ἔσχεν οἶα Ἄττην ἔδρασε, καὶ οἱ παρὰ Διὸς εὔρετο μήτε σήπεσθαί τι Ἄττη τοῦ σώματος μήτε τήκεσθαι.
- 13 τὰδε μὲν ἐς Ἄττην τὰ γνωριμώτατα· ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Δυμαίᾳ καὶ τοῦ δρομέως Οἰβώτα τάφος ἐστί· τούτῳ τῷ Οἰβώτᾳ<sup>3</sup> νικῆσαντι Ὀλύμπια Ἀχαιῶν πρώτῳ γέρας οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον παρ'

<sup>1</sup> δῆσαντες has been suggested.

Lydians Then certain Lydians, with Attis himself, were killed by the boar, and it is consistent with this that the Gauls who inhabit Pessinus abstain from pork But the current view about Attis is different, the local legend about him being this. Zeus, it is said, let fall in his sleep seed upon the ground, which in course of time sent up a demon, with two sexual organs, male and female. They call the demon Agdistis. But the gods, fearing<sup>1</sup> Agdistis, cut off the male organ There grew up from it an almond-tree with its fruit ripe, and a daughter of the river Sangarius, they say, took of the fruit and laid it in her bosom, when it at once disappeared, but she was with child A boy was born, and exposed, but was tended by a he-goat. As he grew up his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis fell in love with him. When he had grown up, Attis was sent by his relatives to Pessinus, that he might wed the king's daughter The marriage-song was being sung, when Agdistis appeared, and Attis went mad and cut off his genitals, as also did he who was giving him his daughter in marriage But Agdistis repented of what he had done to Attis, and persuaded Zeus to grant that the body of Attis should neither rot at all nor decay. These are the most popular forms of the legend of Attis In the territory of Dyme is also the grave of Oebotas the runner. Although this Oebotas was the first Achaean to win an Olympic

<sup>1</sup> With δῆσαντες the meaning is "bound Agdistis and cut off."

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have τοὺς καρπούς

<sup>3</sup> The words τάφος . . οἰβώτα were added by Bekker.

- αὐτῶν ἐγένετο εὖρασθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατάρας  
 ὁ Οἰβώτας ἐποιήσατο μηδενὶ Ὀλυμπικὴν νίκην  
 ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ—ἦν γάρ τις θεῶν ᾧ  
 τοῦ Οἰβώτα τελείσθαι τὰς κατάρας οὐκ ἀμελές  
 ἦν—διδάσκονται ποτε οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ καθ' ἣντινα  
 αἰτίαν στεφάνου τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἡμάρτανον,  
 14 διδάσκονται δὲ ἀποστείλαντες ἐς Δελφοὺς· οὕτω  
 καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τιμὴν σφισι τοῦ Οἰβώτα ποιήσασι  
 καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα ἀναθεῖσιν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν Σώστρα-  
 τος Πελληνεὺς σταδίου νίκην ἔσχεν ἐν παισί.  
 διαμένει δὲ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι Ἀχαιῶν τοῖς ἀγωνίζεσθαι  
 μέλλουσι τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἐναγίζειν τῷ Οἰβώτῃ, καὶ  
 ἡ κρατήσωσιν, ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στεφανοῦν τοῦ Οἰβώτα  
 τὴν εἰκόνα.

- XVIII. Σταδίους δὲ ὅσον τεσσαράκοντα προελ-  
 θόντι ἐκ Δύμης ποταμὸς Πείρος ἐς θάλατταν  
 κάτεισι, καὶ Ἀχαιῶν πόλις ποτὲ Ὀλενος ᾠκεῖτο  
 παρὰ τῷ Πείρῳ. ὅποσοι δὲ ἐς Ἡρακλέα καὶ  
 τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πεποιήκασιν, ἔστιν οὐκ ἐλάχιστά  
 σφισι δείγματα τοῦ λόγου Δεξαμενὸς ὁ ἐν Ὀλένῳ  
 βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁποίων Ἡρακλῆς παρ' αὐτῷ ξενίων  
 ἔτυχε. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἦν πόλισμα ἐξ ἀρχῆς μικρὸν  
 ἢ Ὀλενος, μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ μου καὶ ἐλεγείῳ ἐς  
 Εὐρυτίῳνα Κένταυρον ὑπὸ Ἑρμῆσιάννακτος πε-  
 ποιημένον· ἀνὰ χρόνον δὲ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐκλι-  
 πεῖν ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας φασὶ τὴν Ὀλενον καὶ ἐς  
 Πειράς τε καὶ ἐς Εὐρυτείας ἀποχωρῆσαι.  
 2 Τοῦ δὲ Πείρου ποταμοῦ περὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα  
 ἀφέστηκε σταδίους Πατρέων ἢ πόλις· οὐ πόρρω  
 δὲ αὐτῆς ποταμὸς Γλαῦκος ἐκδίδωσιν ἐς θάλασ-  
 σαν. Πατρέων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιοτάτα μνημο-  
 νεύοντές φασιν Εὐμηλον αὐτόχθονα οἰκῆσαι

victory, he yet received from them no special prize. Wherefore Oebotas pronounced a curse that no Achæan in future should win an Olympic victory. There must have been some god who was careful that the curse of Oebotas should be fulfilled, but the Achæans by sending to Delphi at last learned why it was that they had been failing to win the Olympic crown. So they dedicated the statue of Oebotas at Olympia and honoured him in other ways, and then Sostratus of Pellene won the foot-race for boys. It is still to-day a custom for the Achæans who are going to compete at Olympia to sacrifice to Oebotas as to a hero, and, if they are successful, to place a wreath on the statue of Oebotas at Olympia.

XVIII. Some forty stades from Dyme the river Peirus flows down into the sea, on the Peirus once stood the Achæan city of Olenus. The poets who have sung of Heracles and his labours have found a favourite subject in Dexamenus, king of Olenus, and the entertainment Heracles received at his court. That Olenus was from the beginning a small town I find confirmed in an elegiac poem composed by Hermesianax about Eurytion the Centaur. In course of time, it is said, the inhabitants, owing to their weakness, left Olenus and migrated to Peiræ and Euryteiræ.

About eighty stades from the river Peirus is the city of Patrae. Not far from Patrae the river Glaucus flows into the sea. The historians of ancient Patrae say that it was an aboriginal, Eumelus, who

- πρώτον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, βασιλεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων οὐ πολλῶν. Τριπτολέμου δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφικομένου τὸν τε καρπὸν λαμβάνει τὸν ἡμερον καὶ οἰκίσαι<sup>1</sup> διδαχθεὶς πόλιν Ἀρόην ὠνόμασεν
- 3 ἐπὶ τῇ ἐργασίᾳ τῆς γῆς. ὥς δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον ἐτράπετο ὁ Τριπτόλεμος, ἐνταῦθα Ἀνθείαν παῖδα Εὐμήλου τοὺς δράκοντάς φασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄρμα ζεύξαντα ἐθελῆσαι καὶ αὐτὸν σπείραι· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν ἐκπεσόντα τοῦ ἄρματος, Τριπτόλεμος δὲ καὶ Εὐμηλος Ἀνθειαν πόλιν οἰκίζουσιν ἐν κοινῷ,
- 4 τοῦ Εὐμήλου παιδὸς ἐπώνυμον. ὠκίσθη δὲ καὶ τρίτῃ μεταξὺ Ἀνθείας καὶ Ἀρόης Μεσάτις πόλις. ὅποσα δὲ οἱ Πατρεῖς περὶ Διονύσου λέγουσι, τραφήναι τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσάτει καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιβουλευθέντα ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἐς παντοῖον ἀφικέσθαι κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐναντιούμενος τοῖς Πατρεῦσιν τῆς Μεσάτεως τὸ ὄνομα<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς σφισιν
- 5 ἐξηγεῖσθαι παρήμι. Ἀχαιῶν δὲ ὕστερον ἐκβαλόντων Ἰωνας, Πατρεὺς ὁ Πρευγένους τοῦ Ἀγήνορος ἐς μὲν Ἀνθειαν καὶ ἐς Μεσάτιν μὴ ἐνοικίξεσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπέειπε, περίβολον δὲ τείχους πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ βαλόμενος μείζονα, ἵνα ἐντὸς οἱ τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἡ Ἀρόη γένηται, ὄνομα ἔθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Πάτρας τῇ πόλει. Ἀγίνωρ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Πρευγένους Ἀρέως παῖς ἦν τοῦ Ἀμπυκος, ὁ δὲ Ἀμπυξ Πελίου τοῦ Αἰγινήτου τοῦ Δηρείτου τοῦ Ἀρπάλου τοῦ Ἀμύκλα τοῦ
- 6 Λακεδαίμονος. Πατρεῖ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς προγόνους ὑπάρχοντα ἦν· ἰδία δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον Πατρεῖς διέβησαν ἐς Αἰτωλίαν Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι κατὰ φιλίαν τὴν Αἰτωλῶν, τὸν πόλεμόν σφισι

first settled in the land, and that he was king over but a few subjects. But when Triptolemus came from Attica, he received from him cultivated corn, and, learning how to found a city, named it Aroe from the tilling of the soil. It is said that Triptolemus once fell asleep, and that then Antheias, the son of Eumelus, yoked the dragons to the car of Triptolemus and tried to sow the seed himself. But Antheias fell off the car and was killed, and so Triptolemus and Eumelus together founded a city, and called it Antheia after the son of Eumelus. Between Antheia and Aroe was founded a third city, called Mesatis. The stories told of Dionysus by the people of Patrae, that he was reared in Mesatis and incurred there all sorts of perils through the plots of the Titans, I will not contradict, but will leave it to the people of Patrae to explain the name Mesatis as they choose. When afterwards the Achaeans had driven out the Ionians, Patreus, the son of Pieuges, the son of Agenor, forbade the Achaeans to settle in Antheia and Mesatis, but built at Aroe a wall of greater circumference so as to include Aroe within it, and named the city Patrae after himself. Agenor, the father of Preuges, was the son of Aieus, the son of Ampyx, and Ampyx was a son of Pelias, the son of Aeginetes, the son of Dereites, the son of Harpalus, the son of Amyclas, the son of Lacedaemon. Such was the genealogy of Patreus. In course of time the people of Patrae on their own account crossed into Aetolia; they did this out of friendship for the Aetolians, to help them in their war with

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *οικῆσαι*. Kayser would read *ἀρόσαι*.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested to omit *τῆς Μεσάτεις τὸ ὄνομα*.



- τὸν πρὸς Γαλάτας συνδιοίσουντες. προσπταί-  
σαντες δ' ἐν ταῖς μάχαις λόγου μειζόνως καὶ ὑπὸ  
πενίας ἅμα οἱ πολλοὶ πιεζόμενοι Πάτρας μὲν  
πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐκλείπουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι  
κατὰ χώραν ὑπὸ φιλεργίας ἐσκεδύσθησαν καὶ  
πολίσματα παρέξ αὐτὰς Πάτρας τοσάδε ἄλλα  
ᾤκησαν, Μεσάτιν καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Βολίνην καὶ  
7 Ἀργυρᾶν τε καὶ Ἀρβαν Ἀὔγουστος δὲ ἡ τοῦ  
παράπλου νομίζων κεῖσθαι καλῶς τὰς Πάτρας  
ἡ κατ' ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν ἐπανήγαγεν αὐθις ἐκ  
τῶν πολισμάτων τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς τὰς  
Πάτρας, προσσυνέκισε δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
τοὺς ἐκ Ῥυπῶν, καταβαλὼν ἐς ἔδαφος Ῥύπας·  
καὶ ἔδωκε μὲν ἐλευθέροις Ἀχαιῶν μόνοις τοῖς  
Πατρεῦσιν εἶναι, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ ἐς<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἄλλα γέρα  
σφίσιν, ὅποσα τοῖς ἀποίκους νέμειν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
νομίζουσι.
- 8 Πατρεῦσι δὲ ἐν ἅκρᾳ τῇ πόλει Λαφρίας ἱερόν  
ἐστίν Ἀρτέμιδος· ξενικὸν μὲν τῇ θεῷ τὸ ὄνομα,  
ἐσηγμένον δὲ ἐτέρωθεν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα. Καλυ-  
δῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὔγου-  
στου βασιλέως ἐρημωθείσης διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν<sup>2</sup>  
Νικόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίζεσθαι  
καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν, οὕτω τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λαφρίας
- 9 οἱ Πατρεῖς ἔσχον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα  
ἀγάλματα ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων,  
τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν κομισθῆναι,  
Πατρεῦσι δὲ ὁ Αὔγουστος ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκ  
Καλυδῶνος λαφύρων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Λαφρίας  
ἔδωκε τὸ ἄγαλμα, ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐν τῇ  
ἀκροπόλει τῇ Πατρέων εἶχε τιμάς. γενέσθαι δὲ  
ἐπὶ κλησιν τῇ θεῷ Λαφρίαν ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Φωκέως

the Gauls, and no other Achaeans joined them. But suffering unspeakable disasters in the fighting, and most of them being also crushed by poverty, all with the exception of a few left Patrae, and scattered, owing to their love of agriculture, up and down the country, dwelling in, besides Patrae, the following towns Mesatis, Antheia, Bolina, Argyra and Arba. But Augustus, for some reason, perhaps because he thought that Patrae was a convenient port of call, brought back again to Patrae the men from the other towns, and united with them the Achaeans also from Rhypes, which town he razed to the ground. He granted freedom to the Patraeans, and to no other Achaeans, and he granted also all the other privileges that the Romans are accustomed to bestow on their colonists.

On the acropolis of Patrae is a sanctuary of Artemis Laphria. The surname of the goddess is a foreign one, and her image too was brought in from elsewhere. For after Calydon with the rest of Aetolia had been laid waste by the Emperor Augustus in order that the Aetolian people might be incorporated into Nicopolis above Actium, the people of Patrae thus secured the image of Laphria. Most of the images out of Aetolia and from Acarnania were brought by Augustus' orders to Nicopolis, but to Patrae he gave, with other spoils from Calydon, the image of Laphria, which even in my time was still worshipped on the acropolis of Patrae. It is said that the goddess was surnamed Laphria after a man of Phocis, because the ancient image of

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<sup>1</sup> ἐς should probably be omitted.

<sup>2</sup> In the MSS. τῇν is before ἐς.

- φασί· Λάφριον γὰρ τὸν Κασταλίου τοῦ Δελφοῦ  
 Καλυδωνίοις ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 10 μιδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον. οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ μῆνιμα  
 τὸ ἐς Οἰνέα ἀνὰ χρόνον τοῖς Καλυδωνίοις ἐλαφρό-  
 τερον γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ αἰτίαν τῇ θεῷ τῆς  
 ἐπικλήσεως ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι ταύτην. τὸ μὲν  
 σχῆμα τοῦ ἀγάλματος θηρεύουσά ἐστιν, ἐλέ-  
 φαντος δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πεποίηται, Ναυπάκτιοι δὲ  
 Μέναιχμος καὶ Σοῖδας εἰργάσαντο· τεκμαίρονται<sup>1</sup>  
 σφᾶς Κανάχου τοῦ Σικυωνίου καὶ τοῦ Αἰγινήτου  
 11 Κάλλωνος οὐ πολλῶ γενέσθαι τινὲ ἡλικίαν  
 ὑστέρους. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ Λάφρια ἑορτὴν τῇ  
 Ἀρτέμιδι οἱ Πατρεῖς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐν ᾗ τρόπος  
 ἐπιχώριος θυσίας ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς. περὶ μὲν τὸν  
 βωμὸν ἐν κύκλῳ ξύλα ἰστᾶσιν ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ ἐς  
 ἑκκαίδεκα ἕκαστον πήχεις· ἐντὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 βωμοῦ τὰ αὐτάτα σφισι τῶν ξύλων κεῖται.  
 μηχανῶνται δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ  
 ἄνοδον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν λειοτέραν, ἐπιφέροντες γῆν  
 12 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοὺς ἀναβασμούς· πρῶτα μὲν  
 δὴ πομπὴν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι  
 πομπεύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται  
 τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἄρμα  
 ἐξευγμένων· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν τηνικαῦτα ἤδη  
 δρᾶν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν νομίζουσι, δημοσίᾳ τε  
 ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐχ ἡσσαν ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν οἱ ἰδιῶται  
 φιλοτίμως ἔχουσιν. ἐσβάλλουσι γὰρ ζῶντας ἐς  
 τὸν βωμὸν ὄρνιθας τε τοὺς ἐδωδύμους καὶ ἱερεῖα  
 ὁμοίως ἅπαντα, ἔτι δὲ ὕς ἀγρίους καὶ ἐλάφους  
 τε καὶ δορκάδας, οἱ δὲ καὶ λύκων καὶ ἄρκτων  
 σκύμνους, οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ τέλεια τῶν θηρίων κατα-  
 τιθέασιν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ δένδρων καρπὸν

Artemis was set up at Calydon by Laphrius, the son of Castalius, the son of Delphus. Others say that the wrath of Artemis against Oeneus weighed as time went on more lightly (*elaphroteron*) on the Calydonians, and they believe that this was why the goddess received her surname. The image represents her in the guise of a huntress, it is made of ivory and gold, and the artists were Menaechmus and Soidas of Naupactus, who, it is inferred, lived not much later than Canachus of Sicyon and Callon of Aegina. Every year too the people of Patrae celebrate the festival Laphria in honour of their Artemis, and at it they employ a method of sacrifice peculiar to the place. Round the altar in a circle they set up logs of wood still green, each of them sixteen cubits long. On the altar within the circle is placed the driest of their wood. Just before the time of the festival they construct a smooth ascent to the altar, piling earth upon the altar steps. The festival begins with a most splendid procession in honour of Artemis, and the maiden officiating as priestess rides last in the procession upon a car yoked to deer. It is, however, not till the next day that the sacrifice is offered, and the festival is not only a state function but also quite a popular general holiday. For the people throw alive upon the altar edible birds and every kind of victim as well; there are wild boars, deer and gazelles; some bring wolf-cubs or bear-cubs, others the full-grown beasts. They also place upon the altar fruit of

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<sup>1</sup> Schubart would read *τεκμαίρομαι*.

- 13 τῶν ἡμέρων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου πῦρ ἐνιᾷσιν ἐς τὰ ξύλα. ἐνταῦθά που καὶ ἄρκτον καὶ ἄλλο τι ἐθεασάμην τῶν ζώων, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν τοῦ πυρὸς βιαζόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐκτός, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκφεύγοντα ὑπὸ ἰσχύος· ταῦτα οἱ ἐμβαλόντες ἐπανάγουσιν αὐθις ἐς τὴν πυρὰν τρωθῆναι δὲ οὐδένα ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων μνημονεύουσιν.

- XIX. Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ τοῦ ναοῦ τε τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ πεποιημένον μνήμα Εὐρυπύλου τὰ δὲ ὅστις τε ὢν καὶ καθ' ἥντινα αἰτίαν ἀφίκετο ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην, δηλώσει μοι καὶ ταῦτα ὁ λόγος προδιηγησαμένῳ πρότερον ὅποια ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἦν τὰ παρόντα ἀνθρώποις. Ἰώνων τοῖς Ἀρόην καὶ Ἀνθειαν καὶ Μεσάτιν οἰκοῦσιν ἦν ἐν κοινῷ τέμενος καὶ ναὸς Ἀρτέμιδος Τρικλαρίας ἐπὶ κλησιν, καὶ ἑορτὴν οἱ Ἴωνες αὐτῇ καὶ παννυχίδα ἤγον ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ἱερωσύνην δὲ εἶχε τῆς θεοῦ παρθένος, ἐς ἃ ἀποστέλλεσθαι παρὰ ἄνδρα  
2 ἔμελλε. λέγουσιν οὖν συμβῆναί ποτε ὡς ἱερᾶσθαι μὲν τῆς θεοῦ Κομαιθὼ τὸ εἶδος καλλίστην παρθένον, τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρῶντα Μελάνιππον, τὰ τε ἄλλα τοὺς ἡλικιώτας καὶ ὄψεως εὐπρεπεῖα μάλιστα ὑπερηρκότα. ὥς δὲ ὁ Μελάνιππος ἐς τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ἔρωτος ὑπηγάγετο τὴν παρθένον, ἐμνᾶτο αὐτὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἔπεται δὲ πῶς τῷ γήρᾳ τὰ τε ἄλλα ὥς τὸ πολὺ ἐναντιοῦσθαι νέοις καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς ἐρῶντας τὸ ἀνάλγητον, ὅπου καὶ Μελανίππῳ τότε ἐθέλοντι ἐθέλουσαν ἄγεσθαι Κομαιθὼ οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ γονέων οὔτε παρὰ τῶν Κομαι-  
3 θοῦς ἡμερον ἀπήντησεν οὐδέν. ἐπέδειξε δὲ ἐπὶ  
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cultivated trees Next they set fire to the wood. At this point I have seen some of the beasts, including a bear, forcing their way outside at the first rush of the flames, some of them actually escaping by their strength But those who threw them in drag them back again to the pyre. It is not remembered that anybody has ever been wounded by the beasts

XIX Between the temple of Laphria and the altar stands the tomb of Eurypylus Who he was and for what reason he came to this land I shall set forth presently; but I must first describe what the condition of affairs was at his arrival The Ionians who lived in Aroe, Antheia and Mesatis had in common a precinct and a temple of Artemis surnamed Triclaria, and in her honour the Ionians used to celebrate every year a festival and an all-night vigil The priesthood of the goddess was held by a maiden until the time came for her to be sent to a husband Now the story is that once upon a time it happened that the priestess of the goddess was Comaetho, a most beautiful maiden, who had a lover called Melanippus, who was far better and handsomer than his fellows. When Melanippus had won the love of the maiden, he asked the father for his daughter's hand. It is somehow a characteristic of old age to oppose the young in most things, and especially is it insensible to the desires of lovers So Melanippus found it; although both he and Comaetho were eager to wed, he met with nothing but harshness from both his own parents and from those of his lover. The history of

πολλῶν τε δὴ ἄλλων καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μελανίππου παθήμασιν, ὡς μέτεστιν ἔρωτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων συγχέαι νόμιμα καὶ ἀνατρέψαι θεῶν τιμὰς, ὅπου καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ Κομαιθῶ καὶ Μελάνιππος καὶ ἐξέπλησαν τοῦ ἔρωτος τὴν ὁρμὴν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔμελλον τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἴσα καὶ θαλάμῳ χρήσεσθαι· τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους αὐτίκα ἐξ Ἀρτέμιδος μήνιμα ἔφθειρε, τῆς τε γῆς καρπὸν οὐδένα ἀποδιδούσης καὶ νόσοι σφίσιν οὐ κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 4 θάνατοι πλείονες ἢ τὰ πρότερα ἐγίνοντο. καταφυγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἤλεγχεν ἡ Πυθία Μελάνιππον καὶ Κομαιθῶ· καὶ ἐκείνους τε αὐτοὺς μάντευμα ἀφίκετο θῦσαι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος παρθένον καὶ παῖδα οἱ τὸ εἶδος εἶεν κάλλιστοι τῇ θεῷ θύειν. ταύτης μὲν δὴ τῆς θυσίας ἔνεκα ὁ ποταμὸς ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Τρικλαρίας Ἀμείλιχος ἐκλήθη· τέως δὲ  
 5 ὄνομα εἶχεν οὐδέν. παίδων δὲ καὶ παρθένων ὅπόσοι μὲν ἐς τὴν θεὸν οὐδὲν εἰργασμένοι Μελανίππου καὶ Κομαιθοῦς ἔνεκα ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοὶ τε οἰκτρότατα καὶ οἱ προσήκοντές σφισιν ἔπασχον, Μελάνιππον δὲ καὶ Κομαιθῶ συμφορᾶς ἐκτὸς γενέσθαι τίθεμαι· μόνον<sup>1</sup> γὰρ δὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἀντάξιον κατορθῶσαί τινα ἔρασ-  
 6 θέντα παύσασθαι δὲ οὕτω λέγονται θύοντες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνθρώπους. ἐκέχρητο δὲ αὐτοῖς πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν ὡς βασιλεὺς ξένος παραγενόμενός σφισιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ξενικὸν ἅμα ἀγόμενος δαίμονα, τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν τῆς Τρικλαρίας παύσει. Ἰλίου δὲ ἀλούσης καὶ νεμομένων τὰ λάφυρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Εὐρύπυλος ὁ

Melanippus, like that of many others, proved that love is apt both to break the laws of men and to desecrate the worship of the gods, seeing that this pair had their fill of the passion of love in the sanctuary of Artemis. And hereafter also were they to use the sanctuary as a bridal-chamber. Forthwith the wrath of Artemis began to destroy the inhabitants; the earth yielded no harvest, and strange diseases occurred of an unusually fatal character. When they appealed to the oracle at Delphi the Pythian priestess accused Melanippus and Comaetho. The oracle ordered that they themselves should be sacrificed to Artemis, and that every year a sacrifice should be made to the goddess of the fairest youth and the fairest maiden. Because of this sacrifice the river flowing by the sanctuary of Triclaria was called Ameilichus (*relentless*). Previously the river had no name. The innocent youths and maidens who perished because of Melanippus and Comaetho suffered a piteous fate, as did also their relatives, but the pair, I hold, were exempt from suffering, for the one thing<sup>1</sup> that is worth a man's life is to be successful in love. The sacrifice to Artemis of human beings is said to have ceased in this way. An oracle had been given from Delphi to the Patraeans even before this, to the effect that a strange king would come to the land, bringing with him a strange divinity, and this king would put an end to the sacrifice to Triclaria. When Troy was captured, and the Greeks divided the spoils, Eurypylus the

<sup>1</sup> With the reading of the MSS. "for to man only is it worth one's life to be successful in love."

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have *μόνον*.



Εὐαίμονος λαμβάνει λάρνακα· Διονύσου δὲ  
 ἄγαλμα ἦν ἐν τῇ λάρνακι, ἔργον μὲν ὥς φασιν  
 Ἡφαίστου, δῶρον δὲ ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐδόθη Δαρδάνῳ.  
 7 λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι δύο ἐς αὐτήν, ὥς ὅτε  
 ἔφυγεν Αἰνείας, ἀπολίποι ταύτην τὴν λάρνακα·  
 οἱ δὲ ῥιφήναί φασιν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρας  
 συμφορὰν τῷ εὐρόντι Ἑλλήνων. ἦνοιξε δ' οὖν  
 ὁ Εὐρύπυλος τὴν λάρνακα καὶ εἶδε τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 καὶ αὐτίκα ἦν ἔκφρων μετὰ τὴν θέαν· τὰ μὲν δὴ  
 πλείονα ἐμαίνετο, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
 ἅτε δὲ οὕτω διακείμενος οὐκ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν  
 τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τε Κίρραν καὶ ἐς  
 8 ἐχρᾶτο ὑπὲρ τῆς νόσου. καὶ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι  
 λέγουσι μάντευμα, ἔνθα ἂν ἐπιτύχη θύουσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις θυσίαν ξένην, ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσασθαι  
 τε τὴν λάρνακα καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῆσαι ὁ μὲν δὴ  
 ἄνεμος τὰς ναῦς τοῦ Εὐρυπύλου κατήνεγκεν ἐπὶ  
 τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἀρόῃ θάλασσαν· ἐκβὰς δὲ ἐς τὴν  
 γῆν καταλαμβάνει παῖδα καὶ παρθένον ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν τῆς Τρικλαρίας ἡγμένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
 ἔμελλεν οὐ χαλεπῶς συνήσειν τὰ ἐς τὴν θυσίαν·  
 ἀφίκοντο δὲ ἐς μνήμην καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦ  
 χρημοῦ, βασιλέα τε ἰδόντες ὃν οὐπω πρότερον  
 ἐωράκεσαν καὶ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα ὑπενόησαν ὥς εἴη  
 9 τις ἐν αὐτῇ θεός. καὶ οὕτω τῷ Εὐρυπύλῳ τε ἡ  
 νόσος καὶ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 θυσίαν ἐπαύσθη, τό τε ὄνομα ἐτέθη τὸ νῦν τῷ  
 ποταμῷ Μείλιχος. ἔγραψαν δὲ ἤδη τινὲς οὐ τῷ  
 Θεσσαλῷ συμβάντα Εὐρυπύλῳ τὰ εἰρημένα,  
 ἀλλὰ Εὐρύπυλον Δεξαμενοῦ παῖδα τοῦ ἐν  
 Ὀλύνῳ βασιλεύσαντος ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα Ἡρακλεῖ

son of Euaemon got a chest. In it was an image of Dionysus, the work, so they say, of Hephaestus, and given as a gift by Zeus to Dardanus. But there are two other accounts of it. One is that this chest was left by Aeneas when he fled, the other that it was thrown away by Cassandra to be a curse to the Greek who found it. Be this as it may, Eurypylus opened the chest, saw the image, and forthwith on seeing it went mad. He continued to be insane for the greater part of the time, with rare lucid intervals. Being in this condition he did not proceed on his voyage to Thessaly, but made for the town and gulf of Cirrha. Going up to Delphi he inquired of the oracle about his illness. They say that the oracle given him was to the effect that where he should come across a people offering a strange sacrifice, there he was to set down the chest and make his home. Now the ships of Eurypylus were carried down by the wind to the sea off Aioe. On landing he came across a youth and a maiden who had been brought to the altar of Triclaria. So Eurypylus found it easy to understand about the sacrifice, while the people of the place remembered their oracle; seeing a king whom they had never seen before, they also suspected that the chest had some god inside it. And so the malady of Eurypylus and the sacrifice of these people came to an end, and the river was given its present name Melichus. Certain writers have said that the events I have related happened not to the Thessalian Eurypylus, but to Eurypylus the son of Dexamenus who was king in Olenus, holding that

στρατεύσαντα ἐς Ἴλιον λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ  
 Ἡρακλέους τὴν λάρνακα· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ τὰ  
 10 αὐτὰ εἰρήκασι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε Ἡρακλέα  
 ἀγνοῆσαι τὰ ἐς τὴν λάρνακα εἰ δὴ τοιαῦτα ἦν  
 πείθομαι οὔτε τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιστάμενος δοκεῖ μοί  
 ποτε ἂν δοῦναι δῶρον συμμαχήσαντι ἀνδρί· οὔτε  
 μὴν οἱ Πατρεῖς ἄλλον τινὰ ἢ τὸν Εὐαίμονος  
 ἔχουσιν Εὐρύπυλον ἐν μνήμῃ, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἐναγί-  
 ζουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπειδὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν  
 ἑορτὴν ἄγωσι.

XX. Τῷ θεῷ δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς τῆς λάρνακος  
 ἐπὶ κλησὶς μὲν ἐστὶν Αἰσυμνήτης, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς  
 τὰ μάλιστα θεραπεύοντες ἐννέα τέ εἰσιν ἄνδρες,  
 οὓς ἂν ἐκ πάντων ὁ δῆμος προέληται κατ'  
 ἀξίωμα, καὶ ἴσαι γυναῖκες τοῖς ἀνδράσι. μιᾷ δὲ  
 ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς φέρει τὴν λάρνακα  
 ὁ ἱερεὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ νύξ γέρας τοῦτο εἴληφε,  
 καταβαίνουσι δὲ καὶ ὅποσοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων  
 παῖδες ἐπὶ τὸν Μείλιχον ἀστάχυσιν ἐστεφανω-  
 μένοι τὰς κεφαλὰς· ἐκόσμου δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὸ  
 2 ἀρχαῖον οὓς ἄγοιεν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι θύσοντες. τὰ  
 δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν στεφάνους μὲν τῶν ἀσταχύων  
 ἀποτίθενται παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, λουσάμενοι δὲ τῷ  
 ποταμῷ καὶ αὖθις στεφάνους ἐπιθέμενοι κισσοῦ  
 πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν ἴασι τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου ταῦτα μὲν  
 σφισιν οὕτω δρᾶν καθεστήκε, τοῦ περὶ ὅλου δὲ  
 ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τῆς Λαφρίας καὶ Ἀθηναῶς ναὸς ἐπί-  
 κλησιν Παναχαΐδος· ἐλέφαντος τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ  
 χρυσοῦ.

3 Ἐρχομένῳ δὲ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν Μητρὸς  
 Δινδυμνήης ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀττης  
 ἔχει τιμὰς. τούτου μὲν δὴ<sup>1</sup> ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν  
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this man joined Heracles in his campaign against Troy and received the chest from Heracles. The rest of their story is the same as mine. But I cannot bring myself to believe that Heracles did not know the facts about the chest, if they were as described, nor, if he were aware of them, do I think that he would ever have given it to an ally as a gift. Further, the people of Patrae have no tradition of a Eurypylus save the son of Euaemon, and to him every year they sacrifice as to a hero, when they celebrate the festival in honour of Dionysus.

XX. The surname of the god inside the chest is Aesymnetes (*Dictator*), and his chief attendants are nine men, elected by the people from all the citizens for their reputation, and women equal in number to the men. On one night of the festival the priest carries the chest outside. Now this is a privilege that this night has received, and there go down to the river Melichus a certain number of the native children, wearing on their heads garlands of corn-ears. It was in this way that they used to array of old those whom they led to be sacrificed to Artemis. But at the present day they lay aside the garlands of corn-ears by the goddess, and after bathing in the river and putting on fresh garlands, this time made of ivy, they go to the sanctuary of the Dictator. This then is their established ritual, and within the precincts of Laphria is a temple of Athena surnamed Panachaeon. The image is of ivory and gold.

On the way to the lower city there is a sanctuary of the Dindymenian Mother, and in it Attis too is worshipped. Of him they have no image to show;

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<sup>1</sup> After δῆ the MSS. have τὸ.

ἀποφαίνουσι· τὸ δὲ τῆς Μητρὸς λίθου πεποιήται.  
 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Διὸς ναὸς Ὀλυμπίου, αὐτὸς  
 τε ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ ἐστῶσα Ἀθηνᾶ παρὰ τὸν  
 θρόνον, τῆς τε Ἡρας ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου  
 πέραν ἱερόν τε Ἀπόλλωνος πεποιήται καὶ  
 Ἀπόλλων χαλκοῦς, γυμνὸς ἐσθῆτος· ὑποδήματα  
 δὲ ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσίν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ποδὶ  
 4 ἐπὶ κρανίου βέβηκε βοός. βουσί γὰρ χαίρειν  
 μάλιστα Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀλκαῖός τε ἐδήλωσεν ἐν  
 ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἑρμῆν, γράψας ὥς ὁ Ἑρμῆς βοὺς  
 ὑφέλοιτο τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον ἢ  
 Ἀλκαῖον γενέσθαι πεποιημένα ἦν Ὀμήρῳ βοὺς  
 Ἀπόλλωνα Λαομέδοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ νέμειν·  
 Ποσειδῶνι περιέθηκεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι τὰ ἔπη,

5 ἦτοι ἐγὼ Τρώεσσι πόλιν πέρι τείχους ἔδειμα,  
 εὐρύ τε καὶ μάλα καλόν, ἣν ἄρρηκτος πόλις  
 εἶη·

Φοῖβε, σὺ δ' εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βοὺς βουκο-  
 λέεσκες.

τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ κρανίον τοῦ βοὸς ἐπὶ τοιῷδε ἄν  
 τις εἰκάσειε πεποιῆσθαι· ἔστι δὲ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς  
 ἀγορᾶς ἄγαλμά τε Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 Πατρός τάφος.

6 Ἔχεται δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Ὀριδεῖον, καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λων ἐνταῦθα ἀνάκειται θεᾶς ἄξιος· ἐποιήθη δὲ  
 ἀπὸ λαφύρων, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν στρατὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν  
 οἱ Πατρεῖς ἤμυναν Αἰτωλοῖς Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι.  
 κεκόσμηται δὲ καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τὸ Ὀριδεῖον ἀξιολογώ-  
 τατα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ Ἀθήνησι·  
 τοῦτο γὰρ μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τὴν πᾶσαν ὑπερῆκε  
 κατασκευήν, ἀνὴρ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίησεν Ἡρώδης

that of the Mother is of stone. In the market-place is a temple of Olympian Zeus, the god himself is on a throne with Athena standing by it. Beyond the Olympian is an image of Heia and a sanctuary of Apollo. The god is of bronze, and naked. On his feet are sandals, and one foot stands upon the skull of an ox. That Apollo takes great pleasure in oxen is shown by Alcaeus<sup>1</sup> in his hymn to Heimes, who writes how Hermes stole cows of Apollo, and even before Alcaeus was born Homer made Apollo tend cows of Laomedon for a wage. In the *Iliad*<sup>2</sup> he puts these verses in the mouth of Poseidon:—

Verily I built a wall for the Trojans about their  
city,  
A wide wall and very beautiful, that the city  
might be impregnable;  
And thou, Phoebus, didst tend the shambling  
cows with crumpled horns

This, it may be conjectured, is the reason for the ox skull. On the market-place, in the open, is an image of Athena with the grave of Patreus in front of it.

Next to the market-place is the Music Hall, where has been dedicated an Apollo well worth seeing. It was made from the spoils taken when alone of the Achaeans the people of Patrae helped the Aetolians against the army of the Gauls. The Music Hall is in every way the finest in Greece, except, of course, the one at Athens. This is unrivalled in size and magnificence, and was built by Herodes, an Athenian,

<sup>1</sup> *Fr.* 7 (Bergk).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xxi. 446

ἐς μνήμην ἀποθανούσης γυναικός. ἐμοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 Ἀθίδι συγγραφῇ τὸ ἐς τοῦτο παρείθη τὸ  
 Ὀιδεῖον, ὅτι πρότερον ἔτι ἐξείργαστό μοι τὰ ἐς  
 Ἀθηναίους ἢ ὑπῆρκετο Ἡρώδης τοῦ οἰκοδομή-  
 7 ματος. ἐν Πάτραις δὲ ἰόντι ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἥ  
 τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πύλη κατὰ τὴν ἐξοδὸν  
 ἐστὶ ταύτην, καὶ ἐπιθήματα ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης  
 ἀνδριάντες εἰσὶν ἐπίχρυσοι, Πατρεύς τε καὶ  
 Πρευγένης καὶ Ἀθερίων, οἱ Πατρώος ἡλικίαν  
 παῖδός ἔχοντος καὶ αὐτοὶ παῖδές εἰσι. τῆς δὲ  
 ἀγορᾶς ἀντικρυς κατὰ ταύτην τὴν διέξοδον  
 τέμενός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ναὸς Λιμνάτιδος  
 8 ἐχόντων δὲ ἤδη Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Ἄργος Δωριέων,  
 ὑφελέσθαι Πρευγένην τῆς Λιμνάτιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα  
 κατὰ ὄψιν οὐεῖρατος λέγουσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης,  
 κοινωνῆσαι δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος τῶν δούλων  
 τὸν εὐνούστατον. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐκ τῆς  
 Λακεδαίμονος τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἔχουσιν  
 ἐν Μεσσή, ὅτι καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρευγένους  
 ἐς τοῦτο ἐκομίσθη τὸ χωρίον· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ  
 Λιμνάτιδι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγωσι, τῆς θεοῦ τις τῶν  
 οἰκετῶν ἐκ Μεσσήας ἔρχεται τὸ ξόανον κομίζων  
 9 τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐς τὸ τέμενος τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει· τούτου  
 δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐγγύς<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα τοῖς  
 Πατρεῦσιν ἱερά· πεποιήται δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν  
 ὑπαίθρῳ, ἀλλὰ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν στοῶν  
 ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, πλὴν  
 ἐσθήτος, λίθου τὰ ἄλλα· Ἀθηναῖα δὲ ἐλέφαντος  
 εἵργασται καὶ χρυσοῦ. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ Πρευγένους μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ἐναγίζουσι δὲ καὶ  
 τῷ Πρευγέει κατὰ ἔτος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Πατρεῖ,  
 τὴν ἑορτὴν τῇ Λιμνάτιδι ἄγοντες. τοῦ θεάτρον  
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in memory of his dead wife. The reason why I omitted to mention this Music Hall in my history of Attica is that my account of the Athenians was finished before Herodes began the building. As you leave the market-place of Patrae, where the sanctuary of Apollo is, at this exit is a gate, upon which stand gilt statues, Patreus, Preuges, and Atherion; the two latter are represented as boys, because Patreus is a boy in age. Opposite the market-place by this exit is a precinct and temple of Artemis, the Lady of the Lake. When the Romans were now in possession of Lacedaemon and Argos, it is said that Preuges, in obedience to a dream, stole from Sparta the image of our Lady of the Lake, and that he had as partner in his exploit the most devoted of his slaves. The image from Lacedaemon is usually kept at Mesoa, because it was to this place that it was originally brought by Preuges. But when the festival of our Lady is being held, one of the slaves of the goddess comes from Mesoa bringing the ancient wooden image to the precinct in the city. Near this precinct the people of Patrae have other sanctuaries. These are not in the open, but there is an entrance to them through the porticoes. The image of Asclepius, save for the drapery, is of stone, Athena is made of ivory and gold. Before the sanctuary of Athena is the tomb of Preuges. Every year they sacrifice to Preuges as to a hero, and likewise to Patreus also, when the festival of our Lady is being held. Not far from the theatre is

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<sup>1</sup> ἐγγύς is not in the MSS.



PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

δὲ οὐ πόρρω Νεμέσεως ναὸς καὶ ἕτερός ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης· μεγέθει μεγάλα λίθου λευκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα.

- XXI. Καὶ Διονύσου κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Καλυδωνίου· μετεκομίσθη γὰρ καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ Καλυδῶνος. ὅτε δὲ ᾤκειτο ἔτι Καλυδῶν, ἄλλοι τε Καλυδωνίων ἐγένοντο ἱερεῖς τῷ θεῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ Κόρεσος, ὃν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα ἐπέλαβεν ἄδικα ἐξ ἔρωτος παθεῖν. ἦρα μὲν Καλλιρόης παρθένου· ὅπόσον δὲ ἐς Καλλιρόην ἔρωτος Κορέσῳ μετῆν, τοσοῦτο 2 εἶχεν ἀπεχθείας ἐς αὐτὸν ἢ παρθένος. ὥς δὲ τοῦ Κορέσου δειῆσεις τε ποιούμενου πάσας καὶ δώρων ὑποσχέσεις παντοίας οὐκ ἐνετρέπετο ἢ γνώμη τῆς παρθένου, ἐκομίζετο ἰκέτης ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ ἄγαλμα. ὁ δὲ ἤκουσέ τε εὐχομένου τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ οἱ Καλυδώνιοι τὸ παραντίκα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μέθης ἐγίνοντο ἔκφρονες καὶ ἡ τελευτὴ σφᾶς παραπλήγας ἐπελάμβανε καταφεύγουσιν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ἡπειρον ταύτην οἰκοῦσι, τοῖς τε Αἰτωλοῖς καὶ τοῖς προσχώροις αὐτῶν Ἀκαρναῶσι καὶ Ἡπειρώταις, αἱ πέλειαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς δρυὸς μαντεύματα μετέχειν μάλιστα ἐφαίνετο ἀληθείας. 3 τότε δὲ τὰ χρησθέντα ἐκ Δωδώνης Διονύσου μὲν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸ μήνιμα, ἔσεσθαι δὲ οὐ πρότερον λύσιν πρὶν ἢ θύσῃ τῷ Διονύσῳ Κόρεσος ἢ αὐτὴν Καλλιρόην ἢ τὸν ἀποθανεῖν ἀντ' ἐκείνης τολμήσαντα. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς σωτηρίαν εὐρίσκετο ἢ παρθένος, δεύτερα ἐπὶ τοὺς θρεψαμένους καταφεύγει· ἀμαρτάνουσα δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐλείπετο 4 οὐδὲν ἔτι ἢ αὐτὴν φονεύεσθαι προεξεργασθέν-

a temple of Nemesis, and another of Aphrodite. The images are colossal and of white marble.

XXI In this part of the city is also a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Calydonian, for the image of Dionysus too was brought from Calydon. When Calydon was still inhabited, among the Calydonians who became priests of the god was Coresus, who more than any other man suffered cruel wrongs because of love. He was in love with Callirhoe, a maiden. But the love of Coresus for Callirhoe was equalled by the maiden's hatred of him. When the maiden refused to change her mind, in spite of the many prayers and promises of Coresus, he then went as a suppliant to the image of Dionysus. The god listened to the prayer of his priest, and the Calydonians at once became raving as though through drink, and they were still out of their minds when death overtook them. So they appealed to the oracle at Dodona. For the inhabitants of this part of the mainland, the Aetolians and their Acarnanian and Epeiroi neighbours, considered that the truest oracles were the doves and the responses from the oak. On this occasion the oracles from Dodona declared that it was the wrath of Dionysus that caused the plague, which would not cease until Coresus sacrificed to Dionysus either Callirhoe herself or one who had the courage to die in her stead. When the maiden could find no means of escape, she next appealed to her foster parents. These too failing her, there was no other way except for her to be put to the sword. When everything had been

- των δὲ ὅποσα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἄλλα ἐκ Δωδώνης μεμαντευμένα ἦν, ἡ μὲν ἱερείου τρόπον ἤκτο ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν, Κόρεσος δὲ ἐφειστήκει μὲν τῇ θυσίᾳ, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι εἴξας καὶ οὐ τῷ θυμῷ ἑαυτὸν ἀντὶ Καλλιρόης διεργάζεται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπέδειξεν ἔργῳ<sup>1</sup> ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἴσμεν διατεθεὶς ἐς ἔρωτα
- 5 ἀπλαστότατα· Καλλιρόη τε ὡς Κόρεσον τεθνεῶτα εἶδεν, μετέπεσε τῇ παιδὶ ἡ γνώμη, καὶ—ἐσῆει γὰρ αὐτὴν Κορέσου τε ἔλκος καὶ ὅσα ἐς αὐτὸν εἵργασται αἰδώς—ἀπέσφαξέ τε αὐτὴν ἐς τὴν πηγὴν, ἡ ἐν Καλυδωνίᾳ ἐστὶν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ λιμένος,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνης οἱ ἔπειτα ἄνθρωποι Καλλιρόην τὴν πηγὴν καλοῦσι.
- 6 Τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ ἐγγὺς πεποιήται Πατρεῦσι γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τέμενος. Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγάλματα, ἴσοι τε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίσμασι καὶ ὁμώνυμοι· Μεσατεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἀνθεὺς τε καὶ Ἄροεὺς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὀνόματα. ταῦτα τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ Διονύσου<sup>3</sup> ἑορτῇ κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου· τὸ δὲ ἱερόν τοῦτο ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ τῆς πόλεως ἐρχομένοις ἐστὶν ἐκ
- 7 τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Αἰσυμνήτου κατωτέρω ἰόντι ἄλλο ἱερόν καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθον· καλεῖται μὲν Σωτηρίας, ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀποφυγόντα φασὶ τὴν μανίαν Εὐρύπυλον. πρὸς δὲ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμά ἐστὶν ὀρθὸν λίθου. Ποσειδῶνι δὲ παρέξ ἡ ὅποσα ὀνόματα ποιηταῖς πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐς ἐπῶν κόσμον καὶ ἰδίᾳ σφίσιν ἐπιχώρια ὄντα ἕκαστοι τίθενται, τοσαῖδε ἐς ἅπαντας<sup>4</sup> γεγόνασιν ἐπικλήσεις αὐτῷ, Πελαγαῖος
- 8 καὶ Ἀσφάλιός τε καὶ Ἴππιος. ὠνομάσθαι δὲ

prepared for the sacrifice according to the oracle from Dodona, the maiden was led like a victim to the altar. Coresus stood ready to sacrifice, when, his resentment giving way to love, he slew himself in place of Callirhoe. He thus proved in deed that his love was more genuine than that of any other man we know. When Callirhoe saw Coresus lying dead, the maiden repented. Overcome by pity for Coresus, and by shame at her conduct towards him, she cut her throat at the spring in Calydon not far from the harbour, and later generations call the spring Callirhoe after her.

Near to the theatre there is a precinct sacred to a native lady. Here are images of Dionysus, equal in number to the ancient cities, and named after them Mesateus, Antheus and Aioeus. These images at the festival of Dionysus they bring into the sanctuary of the Dictator. This sanctuary is on the right of the road from the market-place to the sea-quarter of the city. As you go lower down from the Dictator there is another sanctuary with an image of stone. It is called the sanctuary of Recovery, and the story is that it was originally founded by Euipyclus on being cured of his madness. At the harbour is a temple of Poseidon with a standing image of stone. Besides the names given by poets to Poseidon to adorn their verses, and in addition to his local names, all men give him the following surnames—Marine, Giver of Safety, God of Horses.

<sup>1</sup> ἔργον MSS ? ἔργω Sylburg

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ λιμένος is placed in the MSS after πηγῇ. It was transposed by Sylburg.

<sup>3</sup> Here the MSS have τῇ.

<sup>4</sup> The MSS have ἀπαντα

Various reasons could be plausibly assigned for the last of these surnames having been given to the god, but my own conjecture is that he got this name as the inventor of horsemanship. Homei, at any rate, when describing the chariot-race, puts into the mouth of Menelaus a challenge to swear an oath by this god.—

Touch the horses, and swear by the earth-holder,  
earth-shaker,  
That thou didst not intentionally, through guile,  
obstruct my chariot<sup>1</sup>

Pamphos also, who composed for the Athenians the most ancient of their hymns, says that Poseidon is—

Giver of horses and of ships with sails set.

So it is from horsemanship that he has acquired his name, and not for any other reason

In Patrae, not far from that of Poseidon, are sanctuaries of Aphrodite. One of the two images was drawn up by fishermen in a net a generation before my time. There are also quite near to the harbour two images of bronze, one of Ares and the other of Poseidon. The image of Aphrodite, whose precinct too is by the harbour, has its face, hands and feet of stone, while the rest of the figure is made of wood. They have also a grove by the sea, affording in summer weather very agreeable walks and a pleasant means generally of passing the time. In this grove are also two temples of divinities, one of Apollo, the other of Aphrodite. The images of these too are made of stone. Next to the grove is a sanctuary of Demeter; she and her daughter are standing, but the image

- 12 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Γῆς ἐστὶ καθήμενον. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐστὶ πηγὴ· ταύτης τὰ μὲν πρὸς<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ναοῦ λίθων ἀνέστηκεν αἵμασι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐκτὸς κάθοδος ἐς αὐτὴν πεποίηται. μαντεῖον δὲ ἐνταῦθά ἐστὶν ἄψευδές, οὐ μὲν ἐπὶ παντί γε πράγματι, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν καμνόντων. κάτοπτρον καλωδίῳ τῶν λεπτῶν δῆσαντες καθιᾶσι, σταθμώμενοι μὴ πρόσω καθικέσθαι τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐπιψαῦσαι τοῦ ὕδατος τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κατόπτρου. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν εὐξάμενοι τῇ θεῷ καὶ θυμιάσαντες ἐς τὸ κάτοπτρον βλέπουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισι τὸν νοσοῦντα ἦτοι ζῶντα ἢ
- 13 καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐπιδείκνυσι. τούτῳ μὲν τῷ ὕδατι ἐς τοσοῦτο μέτεστιν ἀληθείας, Κυανέων δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λυκία πλησιαίτατα χρηστήριον Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Θυρξέως· παρέχεται δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ πρὸς ταῖς Κυανέαις ἔσω ἐνιδόντα τινὰ ἐς τὴν πηγὴν ὁμοίως πάντα ὅποσα θέλει θεάσασθαι. ἐν Πάτραις δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ἱερὰ δύο ἐστὶ Σαράπιδος ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ πεποίηται μνῆμα Αἰγύπτου τοῦ Βήλου. φυγεῖν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀρόην οἱ Πατρεῖς φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς τε ἐς τοὺς παῖδας παθήμασι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτὸ πεφρικότα τοῦ Ἀργους καὶ
- 14 ἐς πλέον τοῦ Δαναοῦ δείματι. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν Πατρεῦσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν πυλῶν ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς αἰ ἐπὶ Μεσάτιν ἄγουσιν.

Αἱ δὲ γυναικῆς εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς Πάτραις ἀριθμὸν μὲν καὶ ἐς δις τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Ἀφροδίτης δέ, εἴπερ ἄλλαις γυναιξί, μέτεστι καὶ ταύταις βίος δὲ αὐτῶν ταῖς πολλαῖς ἐστὶν ἀπὸ<sup>2</sup> τῆς βύσσου τῆς

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς an emendation of Bekker for the MSS. reading πρό

of Earth is seated Before the sanctuary of Demeter is a spring On the side of this towards the temple stands a wall of stones, while on the outer side has been made a descent to the spring Here there is an infallible oracle, not indeed for everything, but only in the case of sick folk They tie a mirror to a fine cord and let it down, judging the distance so that it does not sink deep into the spring, but just far enough to touch the water with its rim.<sup>1</sup> Then they pray to the goddess and burn incense, after which they look into the mirror, which shows them the patient either alive or dead. This water partakes to this extent of truth, but close to Cyaneae by Lycia, where there is an oracle of Apollo Thyiaeus, the water shows to him who looks into the spring all the things that he wants to behold. By the grove in Patrae are also two sanctuaries of Serapis. In one is the tomb of Aegyptus, the son of Belus He is said by the people of Patrae to have fled to Aroe because of the misfortunes of his children and because he shuddered at the mere name of Argos, and even more through dread of Danaus. There is also at Patrae a sanctuary of Asclepius This sanctuary is beyond the acropolis near the gate leading to Mesatis.

The women of Patrae outnumber the men by two to one. These women are amongst the most charming in the world. Most of them gain a livelihood

<sup>1</sup> Or, possibly, "disk." The round mirror might be lowered vertically or horizontally (face upwards)

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<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have  $\epsilon\pi\delta$ :  $\alpha\pi\delta$  is an emendation of Sylburg.

ἐν τῇ Ἡλιδι φυομένης· κεκρυφάλους τε γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐσθῆτα ὑφαίνουσι τὴν ἄλλην.

- XXII. Φαραὶ δέ, Ἀχαιῶν πόλις, τελοῦσι μὲν ἐς Πάτρας δόντος Αὐγούστου, ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς Φαρὰς Πατρίων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως στάδιοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἄνω πρὸς ἡπειρον περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. ποταμὸς δὲ ῥεῖ πλησίον Φαρῶν Πίερος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὃς καὶ τὰ Ὀλένου παρέξεισιν ἐρείπια, ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων τῶν πρὸς θαλάσση καλούμενος Πείρος πρὸς δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ πλατάνων ἐστὶν ἄλσος, κοῖλαί τε ὑπὸ παλαιότητος αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ ἤκουσαι μεγέθους ἐς τοσοῦτο ὥστε καὶ ἐστιῶνται τῶν χηραμῶν ἐντός, καὶ ὁπόσοις ἂν κατὰ γνώμην
- 2 ἦ, καὶ ἐγκαθεύδουσι. περίβολος δὲ ἀγορᾶς μέγας κατὰ τρόπον τὸν ἀρχαιότερόν ἐστιν ἐν Φαραῖς, Ἑρμοῦ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ λίθου πεποιημένον ἄγαλμα ἔχον καὶ γένεια· ἐστηκὼς δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ γῇ<sup>1</sup> παρέχεται μὲν τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα, μεγέθει δὲ ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας. καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔπεστιν, ἀναθεῖναι αὐτὸ Μεσσήνιον Σιμύλον· καλεῖται μὲν δὴ Ἀγοραῖος, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρηστήριον καθέστηκε. κεῖται δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐστία, λίθου καὶ αὐτῇ, μολίβδῳ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν προσέχονται<sup>2</sup>
- 3 λύχνοι χαλκοῖ. ἀφικόμενος οὖν περὶ ἐσπέραν ὁ<sup>3</sup> τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος λιβανωτόν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας θυμῷ καὶ ἐμπλήσας τοὺς λύχνους ἐλαίου καὶ ἐξάψας τίθησιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐν δεξιᾷ νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον—καλεῖται δὲ χαλκοῦς τὸ νόμισμα—καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πρὸς τὸ οὖς τὸν θεὸν ὁποῖόν τι καὶ ἐκάστω τὸ ἐρώτημά ἐστι. τὸ



from the fine flax that grows in Elis, weaving from it nets for the head as well as dresses.

XXII Pharae, a city of the Achaeans, belongs to Patiae, having been given to it by Augustus. The road from the city of Patiae to Pharae is a hundred and fifty stades, while Pharae is about seventy stades inland from the coast. Near to Pharae runs the river Pierus, which in my opinion is the same as the one flowing past the ruins of Olenus, called by the men of the coast the Peirus. Near the river is a grove of plane-trees, most of which are hollow through age, and so huge that they actually feast in the holes, and those who have a mind to do so sleep there as well. The market-place of Pharae is of wide extent after the ancient fashion, and in the middle of it is an image of Heimes, made of stone and bearded. Standing right on the earth, it is of square shape, and of no great size. On it is an inscription, saying that it was dedicated by Simylus the Messenian. It is called Heimes of the Market, and by it is established an oracle. In front of the image is placed a hearth, which also is of stone, and to the hearth bronze lamps are fastened with lead. Coming at eventide, the inquirer of the god, having burnt incense upon the hearth, filled the lamps with oil and lighted them, puts on the altar on the right of the image a local coin, called a "copper," and asks in the ear of the god the particular question he wishes to put to him.

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<sup>1</sup> Sylburg would read Γῆ.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS have προσέχοντες.

<sup>3</sup> δ is not in the MSS.

- ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἄπεισιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐπιφραξά-  
μενος τὰ ὦτα· προελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐκτὸς τὰς  
χείρας ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τῶν ὠτων, καὶ ἦστινος ἂν  
4 ἐπακούσῃ φωνῆς, μάντευμα ἡγείται. τοιαύτη καὶ  
Αἰγυπτίοις ἑτέρα περὶ τοῦ Ἑλίου τὸ ἱερὸν  
μαντεία καθέστηκεν· ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ  
ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· Ἑρμοῦ<sup>1</sup> νᾶμα μὲν τῇ  
πηγῇ τὸ ὄνομα, τοὺς δὲ ἰχθύς οὐχ αἰροῦσιν ἐξ  
αὐτῆς, ἀνάθημα εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζοντες.  
ἐστήκασιν δὲ ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ἀγάλματος τετρα-  
γωνοὶ λίθοι τριάκοντα μάλιστα ἀριθμόν· τούτους  
σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς, ἐκάστῳ θεοῦ τινὸς ὄνομα  
ἐπιλέγοντες τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς  
πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσι τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων  
5 εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι. Φαρεῦσι δὲ ὅσον πέντε  
σταδίους καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν  
ἄλσος Διοσκούρων. δάφναι μάλιστα ἐν αὐτῷ  
πεφύκασιν, ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἀγάλματα·  
κομισθῆναι δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοί φασιν ἐς Ῥώμην τὰ  
ἀγάλματα· ἐν Φαραῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄλσει βωμὸς  
λίθων λογάδων ἐστί. πυθέσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἶχον εἰ<sup>2</sup>  
Φάρης ὁ Φυλοδαμείας τῆς Δαναοῦ σφισιν ἡ  
ὁμώνυμος ἐκείνῳ τις ἐγένετο οἰκιστῆς  
6 Τρίτεια δέ, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ<sup>3</sup> αὕτη πόλις, ἐν  
μεσογαίῳ μὲν ὥκισται, τελοῦσι δὲ ἐς Πάτρας  
καὶ αὐτοὶ βασιλέως δόντος· στάδιοι δὲ ἐς  
Τρίτειαν εἴκοσί τε καὶ ἑκατὸν εἰσιν ἐκ Φαρῶν.  
πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, μνημῆα ἐστὶ  
λευκοῦ λίθου, θέας καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἄξιον καὶ  
οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ ταῖς γραφαῖς αἱ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
τάφου, τέχνη Νικίου· θρόνος τε ἐλέφαντος καὶ  
γυνὴ νέα καὶ εἶδους εὖ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ,  
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After that he stops his ears and leaves the market-place. On coming outside he takes his hands from his ears, and whatever utterance he hears he considers oracular. There is a similar method of divination practised at the sanctuary of Apis in Egypt. At Pharae there is also a water sacred to Heimes. The name of the spring is Hermes' stream, and the fish in it are not caught, being considered sacred to the god. Quite close to the image stand square stones, about thirty in number. These the people of Pharae adore, calling each by the name of some god. At a more remote period all the Greeks alike worshipped uncarved stones instead of images of the gods. About fifteen stades from Pharae is a grove of the Dioscuri. The trees in it are chiefly laurels; I saw in it neither temple nor images, the latter, according to the natives, having been carried away to Rome. In the grove at Pharae is an altar of unshaped stones. I could not discover whether the founder of Pharae was Phares, son of Phylodameia, daughter of Danaus, or someone else with the same name.

Triteia, also a city of Achaia, is situated inland, but like Pharae belongs to Patrae, having been annexed by the emperor. The distance to Triteia from Pharae is a hundred and twenty stades. Before you enter the city is a tomb of white marble, well worth seeing, especially for the paintings on the grave, the work of Nicias. There is an ivory chair on which is a young and beautiful woman, by

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have ἄμα μὲν without ἔρμου

<sup>2</sup> After εἰ the MSS. have δ.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ is not in the MSS.

- θεράπαινα δὲ αὐτῇ προσέστηκεν<sup>1</sup> σκιάδιον φέρου-  
 7 σα· καὶ νεανίσκος ὀρθὸς οὐκ ἔχων πω γένειά  
 ἐστι χιτῶνα ἐνδεδυκὼς καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπὶ τῷ  
 χιτῶνι φοινικῆν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἰκέτης ἀκόντια  
 ἔχων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγει κύνας ἐπιτηδεΐας θηρεύουσιν  
 ἀνθρώποις. πυθέσθαι μὲν δὴ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν  
 οὐκ εἶχομεν· ταφῆναι δὲ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα ἐν  
 8 κοινῷ παρίστατο ἅπασιν εἰκάζειν. Τριτεΐας δὲ  
 οἰκιστὴν οἱ μὲν Κελβίδαν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν,  
 ἀφικόμενον ἐκ Κύμης τῆς ἐν Ὀπικοῖς οἱ δὲ ὡς  
 "Ἀρης συγγένοιτο Τριτεΐα θυγατρὶ Τρίτωνος,  
 ἱερᾶσθαι δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν παρθένον, Μελά-  
 νιππον δὲ παῖδα Ἀρεως καὶ Τριτεΐας οἰκίσαι τε  
 ὡς ἠυξήθη τὴν πόλιν καὶ θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ  
 9 τῆς μητρός. ἐν Τριτεΐα δὲ ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν καλου-  
 μένων Μεγίστων θεῶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ σφισσι  
 πηλοῦ πεποιημένα· τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἑορτὴν  
 ἄγουσιν, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως ἢ καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ  
 δρῶσιν Ἕλληνες. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ναός, τὸ  
 δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθου τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς  
 Ῥώμην, καθὰ οἱ Τριταιεῖς λέγουσιν, ἐκομίσθη.  
 θύειν δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀρεὶ καὶ τῇ Τριτεΐα  
 νομίζουσιν.
- 10 Αἶδε μὲν οὖν θαλάσσης τέ εἰσιν ἀπωτέρω  
 πόλεις καὶ ἡπειρώτιδες βεβαίως· πλέοντι δὲ ἐς  
 Αἴγιον ἐκ Πατρῶν ἄκρα πρῶτόν ἐστιν ὀνομαζο-  
 μένη Ῥίον, σταδίου δὲ Πατρῶν πεντήκοντα  
 ἀπέχουσα, λιμὴν δὲ ὁ Πάνορμος σταδίοις πέντε  
 καὶ δέκα ἀπωτέρω τῆς ἄκρας. τοσοῦτους δὲ  
 ἀφέστηκεν ἑτέρους ἀπὸ Πανόρμου τὸ Ἀθηνᾶς  
 καλούμενον τείχος. ἐς δὲ λιμένα Ἐρινεὸν ἐξ  
 Ἀθηνᾶς τείχους παράπλους ἐνεγκοντά εἰσι  
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whose side is a handmaid carrying a sunshade. There is also a young man, who is standing. He is too young for a beard, and wears a tunic with a purple cloak over it. By his side is a servant carrying javelins and leading hounds. I could not discover their names, but anyone can conjecture that here man and wife share a common grave. The founder of Tritēia is said by some to have been Celbidas, who came from Cumae in the country of the Opici. Others say that Ares mated with Tritēia the daughter of Triton, that this maiden was priestess to Athena, and that Melanippus, the son of Ares and Tritēia, founded the city when he grew up, naming it after his mother. In Tritēia is a sanctuary of the gods called Almighty, and their images are made of clay. In honour of these every year they celebrate a festival, exactly the same sort of festival as the Greeks hold in honour of Dionysus. There is also a temple of Athena, and the modern image is of stone. The ancient image, as the folk of Tritēia say, was carried to Rome. The people here are accustomed to sacrifice both to Ares and to Tritēia.

These cities are at some distance from the sea and completely inland. As you sail to Aegium from Patrae you come first to the cape called Rhium, fifty stades from Patrae, the harbour of Panormus being fifteen stades farther from the cape. It is another fifteen stades from Panormus to what is known as the Fort of Athena. From the Fort of Athena to the harbour of Erineus is a

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<sup>1</sup> προέστηκε MSS ; προσέστηκε Sylburg

στάδιοι, ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἐς Αἴγιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑρινεοῦ·  
ὁδὸς δὲ ἡ πεζὴ σταδίου τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα  
ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀποδεῖ τὸν εἰρημένον

- 11 Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τοῦ Πατρέων ἄστεως ποταμός  
τε ὁ Μείλιχος καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Τρικλαρίας  
ἐστίν, ἀγαλμα οὐδὲν ἔτι ἔχον. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ  
ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μειλίχου  
ποταμός ἐστιν ἄλλος· ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ  
Χάραδρος, ὥρα δὲ ἡρος πίνοντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ  
βοσκήματα ὀφείλει<sup>1</sup> τίκτειν ἄρρενα ὡς τὰ πλείω  
συμβαίνει, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα οἱ νομεῖς ἐτέρωσε  
αὐτὰ τῆς χώρας μεθιστᾶσι πλήν γε δὴ τὰς βούς·  
ταύτας δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλείπουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ,  
διότι καὶ πρὸς θυσίας οἱ ταῦροί σφισι καὶ ἐς  
τὰ ἔργα ἐπιτηδειότεροι θηλειῶν βοῶν εἰσιν, ἐπὶ  
δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήνεσι τὸ θῆλυ ἐπὶ πλεόν  
τετίμηται.

XXIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Χάραδρον ἐρείπια οὐκ  
ἐπιφανῆ πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀργυρᾶς, καὶ πηγὴ τε  
Ἀργυρᾶ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου καὶ Σέλεμνος  
ποταμός κατιὼν ἐς θάλασσαν. λόγος δὲ τῶν  
ἐπιχωρίων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐστι, Σέλεμνον μειράκιον  
ῥαῖον ποιμαίνειν ἐνταῦθα, Ἀργυρᾶν δὲ εἶναι  
μὲν τῶν ἐν θαλάσσῃ νυμφῶν, ἐρασθεῖσαν δὲ  
αὐτὴν Σελέμνου φοιτᾶν τε ὡς αὐτὸν φασιν ἐκ  
θαλάσσης ἀνιούσαν, καὶ καθεύδειν παρ' αὐτῷ·  
2 μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον οὔτε ῥαῖος ἔτι ἐφαί-  
νετο Σέλεμνος οὔτε ὡς αὐτὸν φοιτήσῃν ἔμελλεν  
ἡ νύμφη, Σέλεμνον δὲ μονωθέντα Ἀργυρᾶς καὶ  
τελευτήσαντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐποίησεν Ἀφροδίτῃ  
ποταμόν. λέγω δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ Πατρέων λεγόμενα.  
καὶ—ἦρα γὰρ καὶ ὕδωρ γενόμενος Ἀργυρᾶς,

coastal voyage of ninety stades, and from Erineus to Aegium is sixty. But the land route is about forty stades less than the number here given.

Not far from the city of Patrae is the river Melichus, and the sanctuary of Triclaria, which no longer has an image. This is on the right. Advancing from the Melichus you come to another river, the name of which is the Charadrus. The flocks and herds that drink of this river in spring are bound to have male young ones for the most part, and for this reason the herdsmen remove all except the cows to another part of the country. The cows they leave behind by the river, because for sacrifices and for agriculture bulls are more suitable than cows, but in the case of other cattle the females are preferred.

XXIII After the Charadrus you come to some ruins, not at all remarkable, of the city Argyra, to the spring Argyra, on the right of the high road, and to the river Selemnus going down to the sea. The local legend about Selemnus is that he was a handsome lad who used to feed his flocks here. Argyra, they say, was a sea-nymph, who fell in love with Selemnus and used to come up out of the sea to visit him, sleeping by his side. After no long while Selemnus no longer seemed so handsome, and the nymph would not visit him. So Selemnus, deserted by Argyra, died of love, and Aphrodite turned him into a river. This is what the people of Patrae say. As Selemnus continued to love Argyra even when he was turned into water, just

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<sup>1</sup> Some would omit this word

- καθότι ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀλφειῷ λόγος Ἀρεθούσης  
 ἔτι ἐρᾶν αὐτόν—δωρεῖται καὶ τῷδε Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 Σέλεμνον· ἐς λήθην ἄγει τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀργυρᾶς.
- 3 ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγον, τὸ ὕδωρ  
 τοῦ Σελέμνου σύμφορον καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ  
 γυναιξὶν ἐς ἔρωτος ἴαμα, λουομένοις ἐν τῷ  
 ποταμῷ λήθην ἔρωτος γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μέτεστιν  
 ἀληθείας τῷ λόγῳ, τιμιώτερον χρημάτων πολλῶν  
 ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου.
- 4 Ἀπωτέρω δὲ Ἀργυρᾶς ποταμὸς ἐστὶν ὀνομαζό-  
 μενος Βολιναῖος, καὶ πόλις ποτὲ ἀκείτο πρὸς  
 αὐτῷ Βολίνα παρθένου δὲ ἐρασθῆναι Βολίνης  
 Ἀπόλλωνα, τὴν δὲ φεύγουσαν ἐς τὴν ταύτη  
 φασὶν ἀφεῖναι θάλασσαν αὐτήν, καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἀθάνατον  
 γενέσθαι χάριτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἐφεξῆς δὲ  
 ἄκρα τε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχει, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ  
 λέγεται λόγος ὡς Κρόνος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐν-  
 ταῦθα ἔρριψε τὸ δρέπανον, ᾧ τὸν πατέρα  
 Οὐρανὸν ἐλυμήνατο· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν  
 Δρέπανον ὀνομάζουσιν. ὀλίγον δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν  
 λεωφόρον Ῥυπῶν ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια· σταδίου δὲ  
 Αἰγίου περὶ τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥυπῶν.
- 5 Αἰγίου δὲ τὴν χώραν διέξεισι μὲν ποταμὸς  
 Φοῖνιξ, διέξεισι δὲ καὶ ἕτερος Μειγανίτας, ἐς  
 θάλασσαν ῥέοντες. στοὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πλη-  
 σίον ἐποιήθη Στράτωνι ἀθλητῇ, Ολυμπίασιν  
 ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τῆς αὐτῆς παγκρατίου καὶ πάλης  
 ἀνελομένῳ νίκας. αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι τούτῳ  
 τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐποιήθη· Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Εἰλείθυίας ἱερόν  
 ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἡ Εἰλείθυια ἐς ἄκρους ἐκ  
 κεφαλῆς τοὺς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται  
 λεπτῷ, ξόανον πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν



as Alpheus in the legend continued to love Arethusa, Aphrodite bestowed on him a further gift, by blotting out the memory of Argyia. I heard too another tale about the water, how that it is a useful remedy for both men and women when in love, if they wash in the river they forget their passion. If there is any truth in the story the water of the Selemnus is of more value to mankind than great wealth.

At some distance from Argyra is a river named Bolinaeus, and by it once stood a city Bolina. Apollo, says a legend, fell in love with a maiden called Bolina, who fleeing to the sea here threw herself into it, and by the favour of Apollo became an immortal. Next to it a cape juts out into the sea, and of it is told a story how Cronus threw into the sea here the sickle with which he mutilated his father Uranus. For this reason they call the cape Drepanum.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the high road are the ruins of Rhypes. Aegium is about thirty stades distant from Rhypes.

The territory of Aegium is crossed by a river Phoenix, and by another called Meiganitas, both of which flow into the sea. A portico near the city was made for Straton, an athlete who won at Olympia on the same day victories in the pancratium and in wrestling. The portico was built that this man might exercise himself in it. At Aegium is an ancient sanctuary of Eileithyia, and her image is covered from head to foot with finely-woven drapery, it is of wood except the face, hands and

<sup>1</sup> Drepanum means "sickle."

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have *καὶ αὐτὴν*

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- 6 ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Πεντελησίου λίθου πεποιήται· καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα. Εἰλειθυία δὲ εἰκάσαι τις ἂν εἶναι δᾶδας, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσιν αἱ ὠδῖνες· ἔχοιεν δ' ἂν λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε αἱ δᾶδες, ὅτι Εἰλειθυία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐς φῶς ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας. ἔργον δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφῶντός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα
- 7 Τῆς δὲ Εἰλειθυίας οὐ μακρὰν Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα Ὑγείας καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ· ἱαμβεῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὸν Μεσσήνιον Δαμοφῶντα εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον φησὶν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν ἀφίκετο ἀνὴρ μοι Σιδόνιος, ὃ ἐγνώκεναι τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἔφασκε Φοίνικας<sup>1</sup> τὰ τε ἄλλα Ἑλλήνων βέλτιον καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα μὲν σφᾶς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπιφημίζειν, θνητὴν δὲ γυναῖκα οὐδε-
- 8 μίαν μητέρα· Ἀσκληπιὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀέρα γένει τε ἀνθρώπων εἶναι καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ζώοις ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς ὑγίειαν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἥλιον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὀρθότατα Ἀσκληπιῷ πατέρα ἐπονομάζεσθαι, ὅτι ἐς τὸ ἀρμόζον ταῖς ὥραις ποιούμενος ὁ ἥλιος τὸν δρόμον μεταδίδωσι καὶ τῷ ἀέρι ὑγείας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποδέχεσθαι μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα, οὐδὲν δέ τι Φοινίκων μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἔφην τὸν λόγον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν Τιτάνῃ τῆς Σικυωνίων τὸ αὐτὸ ἄγαλμα Ὑγείαν τε ὀνομάζεσθαι καὶ .<sup>2</sup> δηλαδὴ ὥς τὸν ἥλιακὸν δρόμον ἐπὶ γῆς ὑγίειαν ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώποις.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have καὶ after Φοίνικας

<sup>2</sup> The MSS have παιδὶ ἦν or εἶναι Ἑλιδάδα Madvig  
Ἀσκληπιὸν Kayser

feet, which are made of Pentelic marble. One hand is stretched out straight; the other holds up a torch. One might conjecture that torches are an attribute of Eileithyia because the pangs of women are just like fire. The torches might also be explained by the fact that it is Eileithyia who brings children to the light. The image is a work of Damophon the Messenian.

Not far from Eileithyia is a precinct of Asclepius, with images of him and of Health. An iambic line on the pedestal says that the artist was Damophon the Messenian. In this sanctuary of Asclepius a man of Sidon entered upon an argument with me. He declared that the Phoenicians had better notions about the gods than the Greeks, giving as an instance that to Asclepius they assign Apollo as father, but no mortal woman as his mother. Asclepius, he went on, is air, bringing health to mankind and to all animals likewise, Apollo is the sun, and most rightly is he named the father of Asclepius, because the sun, by adapting his course to the seasons, imparts to the air its healthfulness. I replied that I accepted his statements, but that the argument was as much Greek as Phoenician; for at Titane in Sicily the same image is called both Health and . . . <sup>1</sup> thus clearly showing that it is the course of the sun that brings health to mankind.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS reading *παῖδ' ἥν* is meaningless. Scholars for the most part consider that a name has fallen out of the text. Madvig's emendation would mean "Daughter of the Sun," and Kayser's would mean "Asclepius."

- 9 Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς τε ναὸς καὶ Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἄλσος. Ἀθηνᾶς μὲν δὴ δύο ἀγάλματα λευκοῦ λίθου· τῆς δὲ Ἥρας τὸ ἄγαλμα ὅτι μὴ γυναιξίν, ἣ ἂν τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχῃ, ἄλλω γε δὴ οὐδενὶ ἔστι θεάσασθαι. Διονύσου δὲ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ πεποιήται σφισιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα, οὐκ ἔχων πω γένεια. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν Σωτήρος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τέμενος καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐσελθόντων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, χαλκοῦ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔχον
- 10 πω γένεια ἐφαίνετο ἀρχαιότερον εἶναί μοι. ἐν δὲ οἰκῇ κατευθὺ τῆς ἐσόδου,<sup>1</sup> χαλκοῦ καὶ ταῦτα, ἔστι μὲν Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, ἐστὶ δὲ Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ· θεοὺς δὲ σφᾶς καλοῦσιν ἐξ Ἀργεῶν, ὥς μὲν ὁ Ἀργείων ἔχει λόγος, ὅτι ἐποιήθησαν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀργείῳ, ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν οἱ Αἰγιεῖς, παρακαταθήκη σφίσις ὑπὸ
- 11 Ἀργείων ἐδόθη τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἀγάλματα. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τάδε ἔτι προσταχθῆναί φασιν, ἐκάστη τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἡμέρα θύειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ σόφισμα εὐρόντες θύειν μὲν πλείστα ὅσα, κατευαχουμένοις δὲ τὰ ἱερεῖα ἐν κοινῷ ἀνάλωμα οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀπαιτεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐς τὰς θυσίας ἀναλούμενα ἀπαιτεῖν· τοὺς δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἔχειν ἐκτίσαι—καταλιπεῖν σφισιν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀγάλματα.

XXIV. Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ ἔστι μὲν πρὸς τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν κοινῷ, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, τοξευούσῃ δὲ εἵκασται, καὶ Ταλθυβίου τοῦ κήρυκος τάφος· κέχωσται δὲ τῷ Ταλθυβίῳ καὶ ἄλλο μνημα ἐν

<sup>1</sup> For ὁδοῦ of the MSS Siebelis conjectured ἐσόδου

<sup>2</sup> τὰ added by Sylburg

At Aegium you find a temple of Athena and a grove of Heia. Of Athena there are two images of white marble; the image of Hera may be seen by nobody except the woman who happens to hold the office of priestess to the goddess. Near the theatre they have a sanctuary of Dionysus with an image of the god as a beardless youth. There is also in the market-place a precinct of Zeus surnamed Saviour, with two images, both of bronze, on the left as you go in; the one without a beard seemed to me the more ancient. In a building right in front of the entrance are images, of bronze like the others, representing Poseidon, Heracles, Zeus and Athena. They are called gods from Argos. The Aigives say it is because they were made in Argos, the people of Aegium themselves say that the images were deposited by the Argives with them on trust. They say further that they were ordered to sacrifice each day to the images. But bethinking themselves of a trick they sacrificed a vast number of animals, but the victims they ate up at public feasts, so that they were not put to any expense. At last the Aigives asked for the images to be returned, whereupon the people of Aegium asked for the cost of the sacrifices. As the Argives had not the means to pay, they left the images at Aegium.

XXIV. By the market-place at Aegium is a temple shared by Apollo and Artemis in common, and in the market-place there is a sanctuary of Artemis, who is represented in the act of shooting an arrow, and also the grave of Talthybius the herald. There is also at Sparta a barrow serving as a tomb to

Σπάρτη, καὶ αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐναγίζουσιν ἀμφό-  
 2 τεραι. πρὸς θαλάσση δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἐν  
 Αἰγίῳ καὶ μετ' αὐτὸ Ποσειδῶνος, Κόρης τε  
 πεποιήται τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τέταρτον Ὀμα-  
 γυρίῳ Διί. ἐνταῦθα Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐστὶ  
 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλματα. Ὀμαγύριος δὲ ἐγένετο  
 τῷ Διὶ ἐπὶ κλησὶς, ὅτι Ἀγαμέμνων ἠθροισεν ἐς  
 τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοὺς λόγου μάλιστα ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι ἀξίους, μεθέξοντας ἐν κοινῷ βουλῆς καθ'  
 ὄντινα χρὴ τρόπον ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν τὴν Πριάμου  
 στρατεύεσθαι. Ἀγαμέμνονι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐστὶν  
 ἐς ἐπαινον καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀκολουθήσασιν  
 καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπελθούσης ὕστερον στρατιᾶς τήν  
 τε Ἴλιον ἐπόρθησε καὶ ὅσαι περίοικοι πόλεις  
 3 ἦσαν. ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῷ Ὀμαγυρίῳ Διὶ Παναχαιᾶς  
 ἐστὶ Δήμητρος. παρέχεται δὲ ὁ αἰγιαλός, ἐν ᾧ  
 καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ Αἰγιεύσιν ἐστὶ τὰ εἰρημένα, ὕδωρ  
 ἄφθονον θεάσασθαί τε καὶ πιεῖν ἐκ πηγῆς ἡδύ.  
 ἔστι δὲ σφισι καὶ Σωτηρίας ἱερὸν. ἰδεῖν μὲν δὴ  
 τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐδενὶ πλὴν τῶν ἱερωμένων ἐστὶ,  
 δρῶσι δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα· λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῆς  
 θεοῦ πέμματα ἐπιχώρια ἀφιάσιν ἐς θάλασσαν,  
 πέμπειν δὲ τῇ ἐν Συρακούσαις Ἀρεθούσῃ φασὶν  
 4 αὐτά. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεύσιν ἀγάλματα  
 χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεὺς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ  
 Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα  
 τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς  
 αἵρετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ ἐκάτερα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων  
 ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις μένει τοῦ ἱερωμένου. τὰ δὲ ἔτι  
 παλαιότερα προεκέκριτο ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἱεράσθαι  
 τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλει· ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῷ  
 γενεῶν ἐς ἄλλον παῖδα ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μετῆει

Talhythius, and both cities sacrifice to him as to a hero. By the sea at Aegium is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and after it one of Poseidon, there is also one of the Maiden, daughter of Demeter, and one to Zeus Homagyrus (*Assembler*). Here are images of Zeus, of Aphrodite and of Athena. The surname Assembler was given to Zeus because in this place Agamemnon assembled the most eminent men in Greece, in order that they might consult together how to make war on the empire of Priam. Among the claims of Agamemnon to renown is that he destroyed Troy and the cities around her<sup>1</sup> with the forces that followed him originally, without any later reinforcements. Adjoining Zeus the Assembler is a sanctuary of Demeter Panachaeon. The beach, on which the people of Aegium have the sanctuaries I have mentioned, affords a plentiful supply of water from a spring, it is pleasing both to the eye and to the taste. They have also a sanctuary of Safety. Her image may be seen by none but the priests, and the following ritual is performed. They take cakes of the district from the goddess and throw them into the sea, saying that they send them to Arethusa at Syracuse. There are at Aegium other images made of bronze, Zeus as a boy and Heracles as a beardless youth, the work of Ageladas of Argos. Priests are elected for them every year, and each of the two images remains at the house of the priest. In a more remote age there was chosen to be priest for Zeus from the boys he who won the prize for beauty. When his beard began to grow the honour

<sup>1</sup> Or "vassal cities," like the *περίοικοι* round Sparta. So Frazer.

τιμή. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐνομίζετο· ἐς δὲ Ἀἴγιον καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι συνέδριον τὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἀθροίζεται, καθότι ἐς Θερμοπύλας τε καὶ ἐς Δελφούς οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες.

- 5 Ἴοντι δὲ ἐς τὸ πρόσω Σελινούς τε ποταμὸς καὶ ἀπωτέρω τεσσαράκοντα Αἰγίου σταδίοις ἐπὶ θαλάσση χωρίον ἐστὶν Ἑλίκη. ἐνταῦθα ᾤκητο Ἑλίκη πόλις καὶ Ἴωσιν ἱερὸν ἀγιώτατον Ποσειδῶνος ἦν Ἑλικωνίου. διαμεμένηκε δέ σφισι, καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐς Ἀθήνας καὶ ὕστερον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίας, σέβεσθαι Ποσειδῶνα Ἑλικώνιον· καὶ Μιλησίοις τε ἴοντι ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν Βιβλίδα Ποσειδῶνος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἑλικωνίου βωμὸς καὶ ὡσαύτως ἐν Τέφω περίβολός τε καὶ βωμός ἐστι τῷ Ἑλικωνίῳ θεᾷ ἄξιος.
- 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Ἑλίκην καὶ τὸν Ἑλικώνιον Ποσειδῶνα. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀχαιοῖς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, ἰκέτας ἄνδρας ἀποστήσασιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀποκτεῖναισιν, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε τὸ μήνιμα ἐκ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀλλὰ σεισμὸς ἐς τὴν χώραν σφίσιν αὐτίκα κατασκήψας τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὁμοῦ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ αὐτὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἔδαφος
- 7 ἀφανὲς ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα ἐποίησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς, ὅσοι μεγέθει τε ὑπερήρκασι καὶ ἐπὶ μήκιστον διικνουῦνται τῆς γῆς, προσημαίνειν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥς τὸ ἐπίπαν εἶωθεν—ἡ γὰρ ἐπομβρίαίαι συνεχεῖς ἢ αὐχμοὶ πρὸ τῶν σεισμῶν συμβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ χρόνον πλείονα, καὶ ὁ ἀῆρ παρὰ τὴν ἐκάστοτε τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν χειμῶνός τε γίνεται καυματωδέστερος καὶ ἐν



for beauty passed to another boy. Such were the customs. Even in my time the Achaean assembly still meets at Aegium, just as the Amphictyons do at Thermopylae and at Delphi.

Going on further you come to the river Selinus, and forty stades away from Aegium is a place on the sea called Helice. Here used to be situated a city Helice, where the Ionians had a very holy sanctuary of Heliconian Poseidon. Then worship of Heliconian Poseidon has remained, even after their expulsion by the Achaeans to Athens, and subsequently from Athens to the coasts of Asia. At Miletus too on the way to the spring Biblis there is before the city an altar of Heliconian Poseidon, and in Teos likewise the Heliconian has a precinct and an altar, well worth seeing. There are also passages in Homer<sup>1</sup> referring to Helice and the Heliconian Poseidon. But later on the Achaeans of the place removed some suppliants from the sanctuary and killed them. But the wrath of Poseidon visited them without delay, an earthquake promptly struck their land and swallowed up, without leaving a trace for posterity to see, both the buildings and the very site on which the city stood. Warnings, usually the same in all cases, are wont to be sent by the god before violent and far-reaching earthquakes. Either continuous storms of rain or else continuous droughts occur before earthquakes for an unusual length of time, and the weather is unseasonable. In winter it turns too hot, and in summer along with a

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad*, II. 575, VIII. 203, XX. 404

θέρει μετὰ ἀχλύος μᾶλλον ὁ κύκλος παρέχεται τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν χροάν παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἦτοι ἐς τὸ ἐρυθρότερον ἢ καὶ ἡσυχῇ ῥέπουσαν<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸ μελάν-  
 8 τερον· τῶν τε ὑδάτων ὥς τὸ πολὺ ἐπιλείπουσιν αἱ πηγαί, καὶ ἀνέμων ἔστιν οἷς ἐνέπεσον ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐμβολαὶ περιτρέπουσαι τὰ δένδρα, καὶ που καὶ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ διαδρομαὶ σὺν πολλῇ τῇ φλογί, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστέρων ὥφθη σχήματα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένα ὑπὸ τῶν πρότερον καὶ μεγάλην τοῖς ὀρώσιν ἐμποιοῦντα ἔκπληξιν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω πνευμάτων ὑπήχησις<sup>2</sup> ἰσχυρά, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς βιαίοις τῶν σεισμῶν  
 9 ἐθέλει προενδείκνυσθαι·—τῆς δὲ κινήσεως αὐτῆς καθέστηκεν οὐχ εἰς τρόπον, ἀλλ' οἱ φροντίσαντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ οἱ παρ' ἐκείνων διδαχθέντες ιδέας καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν τοσάσδε ἐπὶ τοῖς σεισμοῖς. ἡπιώτατος μὲν ἔστιν αὐτῶν, ἣν δὴ ἐν κακῷ γε τοσοῦτῳ ῥαστώνην ἐνεῖναι τινα ἡγησώμεθα, ἐπειδὴν ὁμοῦ τῇ κινήσει τῇ ἀρξαμένη τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τροπῇ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ἀντιστᾶσα ἐναντία κίνησις ἐξεγείρη  
 10 τὰ ἤδη τραπέντα,—καὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ιδέᾳ τοῦ σεισμῶν κίονας ὁρᾶν ἔστιν ἀνορθομένους οἱ ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν ἐς ἅπαν ἐκριφῆναι, καὶ ὅποσα διέστη τοίχων συνερχόμενα ἐς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς· δοκοὶ δέ, ὅσας ἐκτὸς ὀλισθεῖν ἐποίησεν ἡ κίνησις, ἐπανίασιν αὐθις ἐς τὰς ἑδρας· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὀχετῶν κατασκευῆς καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ἐπὶ ὕδατος ῥοαῖς προάγει,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τούτων συνδεῖ τὰ διεσπασμένα μᾶλλον<sup>4</sup> ἀνθρώπων τεκτόνων·—ὁ δὲ δὴ δεύτερος τῶν σεισμῶν ἀπώλειάν τε τῶν ἐτοιμο-

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have τρέπουσαν.

tendency to haze the orb of the sun presents an unusual colour, slightly inclining to red or else to black. Springs of water generally dry up; blasts of wind sometimes swoop upon the land and overturn the trees, occasionally great flames dart across the sky; the shapes of stars too appear such as have never been witnessed before, producing consternation in those that witness them, furthermore there is a violent rumbling of winds beneath the earth—these and many other warnings is the god wont to send before violent earthquakes occur. The shock itself is not of one fixed type, but the original inquirers into such matters and their pupils have been able to discover the following forms of earthquake. The mildest form—that is, if such a calamity admits of mitigation—is when there coincides with the original shock, which levels the buildings with the ground, a shock in the opposite direction, counteracting the first and raising up the buildings already knocked over. In this form of earthquake pillars may be seen righting themselves which have been almost entirely uprooted, split walls coming together to their original position, beams, dislocated by the shock, go back to their places, and likewise channels, and such-like means of furthering the flow of water, have their cracks cemented better than they could be by human craftsmen. Now the second form of earthquake brings destruction to anything liable to it, and it

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<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have *ὑφ' ἡγήσεως*.

<sup>3</sup> *προύργου* has been suggested

<sup>4</sup> The MSS. have *ἡ* after *μᾶλλον*. If it is kept, read *τέκτονες*

# PAUSANIAS. DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- τέρων φέρει καί, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν βάλη τὴν ὀρμήν, ἀνέκλινεν αὐτίκα τοῖς ἐς πολιορκίαν μηχανήμασιν
- 11 ὁμοίως. τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλεθριώτατον τοιῷδέ τι ἐθέλουσιν εἰκάζειν, τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου πνεῦμα εἰ συνεχεῖ πυρετῷ πυκνότερόν τε καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἄνω τῆς βίας ὠθοῖτο τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ τε τοῦ σώματος ἐπισημαίνει καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπὸ ἑκάτερον μάλιστα τὸν καρπὸν. κατὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν εὐθὺ ὑποδύεσθαι τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ θεμέλια ἀναπάλλειν φασὶν αὐτόν,<sup>1</sup> καθότι καὶ τὰ ἔργα<sup>2</sup> τῶν σφαλάκων ἐκ μυχοῦ τῆς γῆς ἀναπέμπεται· μόνη τε ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις οὐδὲ τοῦ οἰκισθῆναί ποτε ὑπολείπει σημεῖα ἐν
- 12 τῇ γῇ. τότε δὲ ιδέαν μὲν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑλίκῃ τοῦ σεισμοῦ τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀνακινούσαν, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄλλο πῆμα τοιόνδε οἱ ἐπιγενέσθαι φασὶν ὥρα χειμῶνος. ἐπῆλθε γάρ σφισιν ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας ἡ θάλασσα καὶ τὴν Ἑλίκην περιέλαβεν ἐν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἄλσος τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπέσχευ ὁ κλύδων ὡς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν δένδρων σύνοπτα εἶναι μόνον. σείσαντος δὲ ἐξαίφνης τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοῦ τῷ σεισμῷ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναδραμούσης, καθεῖλ-
- 13 κυσεν αὐτανδρον τὸ κύμα τὴν Ἑλίκην. τοιοῦτό γε δὴ κατέλαβεν, ἕτερον τὴν ιδέαν, ἐν Σιπύλῳ πόλιν ἐς χάσμα ἀφανισθῆναι.<sup>3</sup> ἐξ ὅτου δὲ<sup>4</sup> κατεάγη τοῦ ὄρους, ὕδωρ αὐτόθεν ἐρρύνῃ, καὶ λίμνη τε ὀνομαζομένη Σαλόη τὸ χάσμα ἐγένετο καὶ ἐρείπια πόλεως δῆλα ἦν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, πρὶν ἢ

<sup>1</sup> Should we read αὐτῶν?

<sup>2</sup> Madvig suggests ἔργη

<sup>3</sup> The MSS reading is very harsh, and there is probably deep-seated corruption.

throws over at once, as it were by a battering-ram, whatever meets the force of its impact. The most destructive kind of earthquake the experts are wont to liken to the symptoms of a man suffering from a non-intermittent fever, the breathing of such a patient being rapid and laboured. There are symptoms of this to be found in many parts of the body, especially at each wrist. In the same way, they say, the earthquake dives directly under buildings and shakes up their foundations, just as molehills come up from the bowels of the earth. It is this sort of shock alone that leaves no trace on the ground that men ever dwelt there. This was the type of earthquake, they say, that on the occasion referred to levelled Helice to the ground, and that it was accompanied by another disaster in the season of winter. The sea flooded a great part of the land, and covered up the whole of Helice all round. Moreover, the tide was so deep in the grove of Poseidon that only the tops of the trees remained visible. What with the sudden earthquake, and the invasion of the sea that accompanied it, the tidal wave swallowed up Helice and every man in it. A similar fate, though different in type,<sup>1</sup> came upon a city on Mount Sipylus, so that it vanished into a chasm. The mountain split, water welled up from the fissure, and the chasm became a lake called Saloe. The ruins of the city were to be seen in the lake,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should delete the commas at *κατέλαβεν* and *ιδέαν*, take *ἕτερον* to mean "a second," and construe *τὴν ιδέαν* with *τοιοῦτο*, "another, similar in type."

<sup>4</sup> After *δὲ* the MSS. have *ἡ ιδέα*

τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέκρυψεν αὐτὰ τοῦ χειμάρρου. σύνοπτα δὲ καὶ Ἑλίκης ἐστὶ τὰ ἐρείπια, οὐ μὴν ἔτι γε ὁμοίως, ἅτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης λελυμασμένα.

XXV. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μῆνιμα πάρεστι μὲν τοῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλίκην, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις διδαχθῆναι πολλοῖς ὥς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητον· φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς παραινῶν ὁ ἐν Δωδώνῃ νέμειν ἐς ἰκέτας αἰδῶ. Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ ἐπὶ ἡλικίας μάλιστα τῆς Ἀφείδαντος ἀφίκετο παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Δωδώνῃ Διὸς τὰ ἔπη τάδε·

φράζεο δ' Ἀρειόν τε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις  
Εὐμενίδων, ὅθι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίους σ' ἰκετεῦσαι  
δουρὶ πιεζομένους. τοὺς μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρῳ,  
μηδ' ἰκέτας ἀδικεῖν· ἰκέται δ' ἱεροὶ τε καὶ  
ἀγνοί.

- 2 ταῦτα Ἑλλησιν ἦλθεν ἐς μνήμην, ὅτε ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἀθήνας Πελοποννήσιοι, τότε Κόδρου τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντος. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄλλος στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθοντο τοῦ Κόδρου τὴν τελευτὴν καὶ ὄντινα ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τρόπον· οὐ γὰρ ~~οὐκ~~ ~~ἔτι~~ ~~σφίσι~~ κατὰ τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν μάντευμα ἤλπιζον· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἄνδρες γενόμενοι μὲν ἐντὸς τείχους λανθάνουσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς τε ἑαυτῶν ἀπεληλυθότας αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἀθροιζομένων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καταφεύγουσιν ἐς τὸν Ἀρειὸν πάγον καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν αἰ Σερναὶ
- 3 καλοῦνται τοὺς βωμούς. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τότε μὲν διδῶσιν τοῖς ἰκέταις ἀπελθεῖν ἀζημίους, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς ἀρχὰς διέφθειραν

until the water of the torrent hid them from view. The ruins of Helice too are visible, but not so plainly now as they were once, because they are corroded by the salt water

XXV The disaster that befell Helice is but one of the many proofs that the wrath of the God of Suppliants is inexorable. The god at Dodona too manifestly advises us to respect suppliants. For about the time of Apeidas the Athenians received from Zeus of Dodona the following verses —

Consider the Areopagus, and the smoking altars  
Of the Eumenides, where the Lacedaemonians are  
to be thy suppliants,  
When hard-pressed in war Kill them not with  
the sword,  
And wrong not suppliants For suppliants are  
sacred and holy

The Greeks were reminded of these words when Peloponnesians arrived at Athens at the time when the Athenian king was Codrus, the son of Melanthus. Now the rest of the Peloponnesian army, on learning of the death of Codrus and of the manner of it, departed from Attica, the oracle from Delphi making them despair of success in the future, but certain Lacedaemonians, who got unnoticed within the walls in the night, perceived at daybreak that their friends had gone, and when the Athenians gathered against them, they took refuge in the Areopagus at the altars of the goddesses called August. On this occasion the Athenians allowed the suppliants to go away unharmed, but subsequently the magistrates themselves put to death the suppliants of Athena,

- τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἰκέτας τῶν Κύλωνι ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπο-  
 λιν κατειληφότων· καὶ αὐτοί τε οἱ ἀποκτείναντες  
 ἐνομίσθησαν καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐναγεῖς τῆς θεοῦ.  
 Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ἀποκτείνασι καὶ τούτοις  
 ἄνδρας ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταπεφευγότας τὸ ἐπὶ  
 Ταϊνάρῳ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, οὐ μετὰ πολὺν ἐσείσθη  
 σφίσιν ἢ πόλις συνεχεῖ τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἰσχυρῶ τῷ  
 σεισμῷ, ὥστε οἰκίαν μηδεμίαν τῶν ἐν Λακεδαί-  
 4 μוני ἀντισχεῖν. ἐγένετο δὲ τῆς Ἑλίκης ἀπώλεια  
 Ἀστείου μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἔτι ἄρχοντας, τετάρτῳ δὲ  
 ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν, ἣν  
 Δάμων Θούριος ἐνίκα τὸ πρῶτον. Ἑλικαέων δὲ  
 οὐκέτι ὄντων νέμονται τὴν χώραν οἱ Αἰγίεις.
- 5 Μετὰ δὲ Ἑλίκην ἀποτραπήσῃ τε ἀπὸ θαλάσσης  
 ἐς δεξιὰν καὶ ἥξεις ἐς πόλισμα Κερύνειαν· ὥκισται  
 δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐν ὄρει, καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄνομα ἢ  
 δυνάστης ἐπιχώριος ἢ ὁ Κερυνίτης ποταμὸς  
 πεποίηκεν, ὃς ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ ὄρους Κερυνείας  
 ῥέων Ἀχαιοὺς τοὺς ταύτῃ παρέξεισι. παρὰ  
 τούτους σύνοικοι Μυκηναῖοι κατὰ συμφορὰν  
 ἀφίκοντο ἐκ τῆς Ἀργολίδος. Μυκηναίοις γὰρ  
 τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἀλῶναι κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ  
 6 ἐδύνατο ὑπὸ Ἀργείων, ἐτετείχιστο γὰρ κατὰ  
 ταῦτα τῷ ἐν Τίρυνθι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυκλώπων καλου-  
 μένων, κατὰ ἀνάγκην δὲ ἐκλείπουσι Μυκηναῖοι  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλειπόντων σφᾶς τῶν σιτίων, καὶ  
 ἄλλοι μὲν τινες ἐς Κλεωνὰς ἀποχωροῦσιν ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν, τοῦ δήμου δὲ πλεον μὲν ἥμισυ ἐς Μακε-  
 δονίαν καταφεύγουσι παρὰ Ἀλέξανδρον, ὃ Μαρ-  
 δόνιος ὁ Γωβρύου τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐπίστευσεν ἐς  
 Ἀθηναίους ἀπαγγεῖλαι· ὁ δὲ ἄλλος δῆμος ἀφί-  
 κοντο ἐς τὴν Κερύνειαν, καὶ δυνατωτέρα τε ἢ



when Cylon and his supporters had seized the Acropolis. So the slayers themselves and also their descendants were regarded as accursed to the goddess. The Lacedaemonians too put to death men who had taken refuge in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Taenarum. Presently their city was shaken by an earthquake so continuous and violent that no house in Lacedaemon could resist it. The destruction of Helice occurred while Asteius was still archon at Athens, in the fourth year of the hundred and first Olympiad, whereat Damon of Thuri was victorious for the first time. As none of the people of Helice were left alive, the land is occupied by the people of Aegium.

After Helice you will turn from the sea to the right and you will come to the town of Ceryneia. It is built on a mountain above the high road, and its name was given to it either by a native potentate or by the river Cerynites, which, flowing from Arcadia and Mount Ceryneia, passes through this part of Achaia. To this part came as settlers Mycenaeans from Argolis because of a catastrophe. Though the Argives could not take the wall of Mycenae by storm, built as it was like the wall of Tiryns by the Cyclopes, as they are called, yet the Mycenaeans were forced to leave their city through lack of provisions. Some of them departed for Cleonae, but more than half of the population took refuge with Alexander in Macedonia, to whom Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, entrusted the message to be given to the Athenians<sup>1</sup>. The rest of the population came to Ceryneia, and the addition of the

<sup>1</sup> See Herodotus, viii. 136.

Κερύνεια οἰκητόρων πλήθει καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐγένετο ἐπιφανεστέρα διὰ τὴν συνοίκησιν τῶν  
 7 Μυκηναίων· ἐν Κερυνείᾳ δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐμενίδων· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Ὀρέστην λέγουσιν. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἢ αἵματι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ μιάσματι ἔνοχος ἢ καὶ ἀσεβῆς ἐσέλθῃ θέλων θεάσασθαι, αὐτίκα λέγεται δείμασιν ἐκτὸς τῶν φρενῶν γίνεσθαι· καὶ τοῦδε ἕνεκα οὐ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἢ ἔσοδος οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἀγάλμασι ξύλων εἰργασμένοις . . . μέγεθός εἰσιν οὐ μεγάλοι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐς τὸ ἱερόν γυναικῶν εἰκόνες λίθου τέ εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι καὶ ἔχουσαι τέχνης εὖ· ἐλέγοντο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱέρειαι ταῖς Εὐμενίσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενέσθαι.

- 8 Ἐκ Κερυνείας δὲ ἐπανελθόντι ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον καὶ ὁδεύσαντι οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ δεύτερα ἐστὶν ἐς Βοῦραν ἀποτραπέσθαι· θαλάσσης δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ<sup>1</sup> ἢ Βοῦρα ἐν ὄρει κεῖται. τεθῆναι δέ φασι τῇ πόλει τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Βούρας, θυγατέρα δ' αὐτὴν Ἰωνος τοῦ Ξούθου καὶ Ἑλίκης εἶναι. ὅτε δὲ Ἑλίκην ἐποίησεν ἄδηλον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὁ θεός, τότε καὶ τὴν Βοῦραν σεισμὸς ἐπέλαβεν ἰσχυρός, ὥς μηδὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 9 ὑπολειφθῆναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα· ὅποσοι δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἀποδημοῦντες ἢ στρατείας ἕνεκα ἔτυχον ἢ κατὰ πρόφασιν ἀλλοίαν, μόνοι τε οὗτοι Βουρέων ἐλείφθησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς Βούρας ἐγένοντο οἰκισταί. ναὸς ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος, ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Διονύσου τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλλος Εἰλειθυίας· λίθου τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργα

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. here have καὶ

## ACHAIA, xxv. 6-9

Mycenaeans made Ceryneia more powerful, through the increase of the population, and more renowned for the future. In Ceryneia is a sanctuary of the Eumenides, which they say was established by Orestes. Whosoever enters with the desire to see the sights, if he be guilty of bloodshed, defilement or impiety, is said at once to become insane with fright, and for this reason the right to enter is not given to all and sundry. The images made of wood. they are not very large in size, and at the entrance to the sanctuary are statues of women, made of stone and of artistic workmanship. The natives said that the women are portraits of the former priestesses of the Eumenides.

On returning from Ceryneia to the high road, if you go along it for a short distance you may turn aside again to Bura, which is situated on a mountain to the right of the sea. It is said that the name was given to the city from a woman called Bura, who was the daughter of Ion, son of Xuthus, and of Helice. When the god wiped off Helice from the face of the earth, Bura too suffered a severe earthquake, so that not even the ancient images were left in the sanctuaries. The only Burians to survive were those who chanced to be absent at the time, either on active service or for some other reason, and these became the second founders of Bura. There is a temple here of Demeter, one of Aphrodite and Dionysus, and a third of Eleithyia. The images are of Pentelic marble, and were made by Eucleides of Athens.

Εὐκλείδου· καὶ τῇ Δήμητρί ἐστιν ἐσθής. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἰσιδι ἱερόν.

- 10 Καταβάντων δὲ ἐκ Βούρας ὡς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ποταμός τε Βουραικὸς ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ Ἡρακλῆς οὐ μέγας ἐστὶν ἐν σπηλαίῳ· ἐπὶ κλησις μὲν καὶ τούτου Βουραικός, μαντείας δὲ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> πίνακί τε καὶ ἀστραγάλοις ἔστι λαβεῖν. εὐχεται μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ὁ τῷ θεῷ χρώμενος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εὐχῇ λαβὼν ἀστραγάλους—οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοι παρὰ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ κεῖνται—τέσσαρας ἀφίησιν ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης· ἐπὶ δὲ παντὶ ἀστραγάλων<sup>2</sup> σχήματι γεγραμμένα ἐν πίνακι ἐπίτηδες ἐξήγησιν
- 11 ἔχει τοῦ σχήματος. σταδίῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ὡς τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλίκης ὁδὸς ἢ εὐθειᾶ ἐστι. προσελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ποταμὸς ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἀένας ἐξ ὄρους Ἀρκαδικοῦ κατερχόμενος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ τε<sup>3</sup> τῷ ποταμῷ Κράθις καὶ ἔνθα αἱ πηγαὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ὄρει ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς Κράθιδος καὶ πρὸς Κρότωνι τῇ
- 12 ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. πρὸς δὲ τῇ Ἀχαικῇ Κράθιδι Ἀχαιῶν ποτε ὤκειτο Αἰγαὶ πόλις· ἐκλειφθῆναι δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνὰ χρόνον ὑπὸ ἀσθενείας λέγουσι. τούτων δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος τῶν Αἰγῶν ἐν Ἡρας λόγοις ἐποίησατο μνήμην,

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have ὑπὸ

<sup>2</sup> ἀστραγάλῳ MSS ἀστραγάλου Spiro ἀστραγάλων Emper.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ MSS τε Bekker

<sup>1</sup> This means either that the other images were undraped or that for Demeter's raiment was kept in the temple for solemn occasions

<sup>2</sup> I am very uncertain about the meaning of this passage Frazer's note shows that divination by dice usually took the

There is diaphery for Demeter<sup>1</sup> Isis too has a sanctuary

On descending from Bura towards the sea you come to a river called Buraicus, and to a small Heracles in a cave. He too is surnamed Buraicus, and here one can divine by means of a tablet and dice. He who inquires of the god offers up a prayer in front of the image, and after the prayer he takes four dice, a plentiful supply of which are placed by Heracles, and throws them upon the table. For every figure made by the dice there is an explanation expressly written on the tablet.<sup>2</sup> The straight road from Helice to the Heracles is about thirty stades. Going on from the Heracles you come to the mouth of a river that descends from a mountain in Arcadia and never dries up. The river itself is called the Crathis, which is also the name of the mountain where the river has its source. From this Crathis the river too by Crotona in Italy has been named. By the Achæan Crathis once stood Aegæ, a city of the Achæans. In course of time, it is said, it was abandoned because its people were weak.<sup>3</sup> This Aegæ is mentioned by Homer in Hera's speech:—<sup>4</sup>

form of interpreting the sequences of numbers obtained by throwing several dice on to a board. This cannot be the meaning here, as σχῆμα can hardly denote a number on the face of a die, and in any case ἐξήγησιν τοῦ σχήματος must mean "explanation of the shape." I have accordingly adopted the emendation ἀστραγάλων, but ἐπίτηδες seems to have no point. Frazer, reading apparently ἐπὶ δὲ παντὶ ἀστραγάλῳ σχῆμά τι κτῆ, translates: "Each die has a certain figure marked upon it, and the meaning of each figure is explained on the tablet."

<sup>3</sup> Probably because the population declined. It is just possible that the site became unhealthy. The word ἀσθένεια admits of either interpretation. <sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, viii 203

οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνά-  
γουσι,

- 13 δῆλον ὥς γέρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐπ' Ἰσης ἔν τε  
Ἑλίκῃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς ἔχοντος οὐ πολὺ δὲ  
ἀπωτέρω Κράθιδος σῆμά τε ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
καὶ ἄνδρα εὐρήσεις ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι ἵππῳ παρες-  
τῶτα, ἀμυδρὰν γραφὴν. ὁδὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου  
σταδίῳ ὅσον τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον  
Γαῖον· Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος ἐπὶ κλησιν  
Εὐρυστέρνου, ξόανον δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ὁμοίως  
ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. γυνὴ δὲ ἡ αἰεὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην  
λαμβάνουσα ἀγιστεύει μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, οὐ  
μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ πρότερα ἔσται πλέον ἢ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς  
ἐς πείραν ἀφιγμένη. πίνουσαι δὲ αἷμα ταύρου  
δοκιμάζονται ἢ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν τύχῃ μὴ ἀλη-  
θεύουσα, αὐτίκα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔσχεν.  
ἦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀφίκωνται γυναῖκες  
ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν πλέονες, ἢ τῷ κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα  
προτετίμηται.

- XXVI. Ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Αἰγειρατῶν—  
ὄνομα τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ τε πόλις καὶ τὸ ἐπίνειον  
ἔχει—, ἐς οὖν τὸ ἐπίνειον Αἰγειρατῶν δύο καὶ  
ἐβδομήκοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Βου-  
ραικὴν εἰσιν Ἡρακλέους στάδιοι. ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ  
μὲν δὴ Αἰγειράταις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην, ὁδὸς  
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπινείου δύο σταδίων καὶ δέκα ἐς τὴν  
2 ἄνω πόλιν. Ὀμήρου δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὑπερρησία  
ὠνόμασται· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν ἐγένετο Ἰώνων  
ἔτι οἰκούντων,<sup>1</sup> ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπ' αἰτία τοιαύδε.  
Σικυωνίων ἀφίξεσθαι στρατὸς ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς  
πολέμιος ἐς τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκουν

They bring thee gifts up to Helice and to Aegae. Hence it is plain that Poseidon was equally honoured at Helice and at Aegae. At no great distance from the Ciathis you will find a tomb on the right of the road, and on the tombstone a man standing by the side of a horse, the colours of the painting have faded. From the grave it is a journey of about thirty stades to what is called the Gaeus, a sanctuary of Earth surnamed Broadbosomed, whose wooden image is one of the very oldest. The woman who from time to time is priestess henceforth remains chaste, and before her election must not have had intercourse with more than one man. The test applied is drinking bull's blood. Any woman who may chance not to speak the truth is immediately punished as a result of this test. If several women compete for the priesthood, lots are cast for the honour.

XXVI. To the port of Aegæira, which has the same name as the city, it is seventy-two stades from the Heracles that stands on the road to Bura. The coast town of Aegæira presents nothing worth recording; from the port to the upper city is twelve stades. Homer in his poem calls the city Hyperesia<sup>1</sup>. Its present name was given it while the Ionians were still dwelling there, and the reason for the name was as follows. A hostile army of Sicyonians was about to invade their territory. As they thought them-

<sup>1</sup> *Πιαλ*, ll 573

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<sup>1</sup> *ἐπὶ οἰκούντων* Schubart *ἐποικούντων* MSS

- ἀξιόμαχοι τοῖς Σικυωνίοις εἶναι—ἀθροίζουσιν αἶγας, ὅπόσαι σφίσιν ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, συλλέξαντες δὲ ἔδησαν πρὸς τοῖς κέρασιν αὐτῶν δᾶδας, καὶ ὡς πρόσω νυκτὸς ἦν, ἐξάπτουσι τὰς
- 3 δᾶδας. Σικυῶνιοι δὲ—ἰέναι γὰρ συμμάχους τοῖς Ὑπερησιεῦσιν ἠλπίζον καὶ εἶναι τὴν φλόγα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπικουρικοῦ πυρός—οἱ μὲν οἵκαδε ἐπανήρχοντο, Ὑπερησιεῖς δὲ τῇ τε πόλει τὸ ὄνομα τὸ νῦν μετέθεντο ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν, καὶ καθότι αὐτῶν ἡ καλλίστη καὶ ἡγουμένη τῶν ἄλλων ὤκλασεν, Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀγροτέρας ἐποιήσαντο ἱερόν, τὸ σόφισμα ἐς τοὺς Σικυωνίους οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς
- 4 Ἀρτέμιδός σφισιν ἐπελθεῖν νομίζοντες. οὐ μὴν καὶ αὐτίκα γε ἐξενίκησεν Αἰγείραν ἀντὶ Ὑπερησίας καλεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἔτι οἱ Ὠρεὸν τὴν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἑστίασαν ἐκάλουν τῷ ἀρχαίῳ. παρείχετο δὲ ἡ Αἰγείρα ἐς συγγραφὴν ἱερόν Διὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα καθήμενον λίθου τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Ἀθηναίου δὲ ἔργον Εὐκλείδου. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγαλμα ἔστηκε· πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκραι χεῖρες ἐλέφαντος καὶ οἱ πόδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ξόανον χρυσῷ τε ἐπιπολῆς διηνηθισμένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαρμάκοις.
- 5 Ἀρτέμιδός τε ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τέχνης τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἱεράται δὲ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν ἀφίκηται γάμου. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἀρχαῖον, Ἰφιγένεια ἢ Ἀγαμέμνωνος, ὡς οἱ Αἰγειράται φασιν· εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν οὗτοι, δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰφιγενεία ποιηθεῖς ὁ ναός.
- 6 ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον τό τε ἱερόν αὐτὸ καὶ ὅποσα ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἀρχαῖον δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ξόανον,



selves no match for the Sicyonians, they collected all the goats they had in the country, and gathering them together they tied torches to their horns, and when the night was far advanced they set the torches alight. The Sicyonians, suspecting that allies were coming to the help of the Hyperesians, and that the flames came from their fires, set off home again. The Hyperesians gave their city its present name of Aegena from the goats (*aiges*), and where the most beautiful goat, which led the others, crouched, they built a sanctuary of Artemis the Huntress, believing that the trick against the Sicyonians was an inspiration of Artemis. The name Aegeira, however, did not supersede Hyperesia at once, just as even in my time there were still some who called Oreus in Euboea by its ancient name of Hestiaea. The sights of Aegeira worth recording include a sanctuary of Zeus with a sitting image of Pentelic marble, the work of Euclides the Athenian. In this sanctuary there also stands an image of Athena. The face, hands and feet are of ivory, the rest is of wood, with ornamentation of gilt work and of colours. There is also a temple of Artemis, with an image of the modern style of workmanship. The priestess is a maiden, who holds office until she reaches the age to marry. There stands here too an ancient image, which the folk of Aegeira say is Iphigeneia, the daughter of Agamemnon. If they are correct, it is plain that the temple must have been built originally for Iphigeneia. There is also a sanctuary of Apollo, the sanctuary itself, with the sculptures on the pediments, are very old; the wooden image of the god also is old, the figure being nude and of

# PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

γυμνός, μεγέθει μέγας· τὸν ποιήσαντα δὲ εἶχεν  
 οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων εἰπεῖν· ὅστις δὲ ἤδη τὸν  
 Ἡρακλέα τὸν ἐν Σικυνῶνι ἐθεάσατο, τεκμαίροιτο  
 ἂν καὶ ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἔργον εἶναι  
 7 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Φλιασίου Λαφάους. Ἀσκληπιοῦ δὲ  
 ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἐστὶν ἐν ναῶ καὶ Σαράπιδος  
 ἐτέρωθι καὶ Ἰσιδος, λίθου καὶ ταῦτα Πεντελη-  
 σίου. τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίαν σέβουσι μὲν τὰ μάλιστα,  
 ἐσελθεῖν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις.  
 θεοῦ δὲ ἦν Συρίαν ἐπονομάζουσιν, ἐς ταύτης τὸ  
 ἱερὸν ἐσίασιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς, ἄλλα τε ὅσα  
 νομίζουσι προκαθαριεύσαντες καὶ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν.  
 8 οἶδα καὶ οἶκημα ἐν Αἰγείρᾳ θεασάμενος· ἄγαλμα  
 ἦν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι Τύχης, τὸ κέρας φέρουσα τὸ  
 Ἀμαλθείας· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Ἔρως πτερὰ ἔχων  
 ἐστίν, ἐθέλει δὲ σημαίνειν ὅτι ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ  
 ἐς ἔρωτα τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ κάλλους κατορ-  
 θοῦται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν Πινδάρου τά τε ἄλλα  
 πείθομαι τῇ ᾠδῇ καὶ Μοιρῶν τε εἶναι μίαν τὴν  
 9 Τύχην καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰς ἀδελφάς τι ἰσχύειν· ἐν  
 Αἰγείρᾳ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ οἰκήματι ἀνὴρ τε ἤδη  
 γέρων ἴσα καὶ ὀδυρόμενος καὶ γυναῖκες τρεῖς  
 ἀφαιρούμεναι ψῆλιά εἰσι καὶ ἴσοι νεανίσκοι ταῖς  
 γυναιξί, ἐνδεδυκώς δὲ θώρακα εἰς.<sup>1</sup> τοῦτόν φασιν  
 Ἀχαιοῖς γενομένου πολέμου μαχεσάμενον ἀνδρείό-  
 τατα Αἰγειρατῶν τελευτήσαι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸν  
 θάνατον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἴκαδε ἀπήγ-  
 γειλαν· καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα αἶ τε ἀδελφαὶ διὰ τὸ  
 ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἀποκοσμοῦνται καὶ τὸν πατέρα

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have θώρακα. ἐς the emendation is due to Madvig.

colossal size. None of the inhabitants could give the name of the artist, but anyone who has already seen the Heiacles at Sicyon would be led to conjecture that the Apollo in Aegeira was also a work of the same artist, Laphaes the Phliasian. There are in a temple standing images of Asclepius, and elsewhere images of Serapis and of Isis, these too being of Pentelic marble. They worship most devoutly the Heavenly Goddess, but human beings must not enter her sanctuary. But into the sanctuary of the goddess they surname Syrian they enter on stated days, but they must submit beforehand to certain customary purifications, especially in the matter of diet. I remember observing at Aegeira a building in which was an image of Fortune carrying the horn of Amaltheia. By her side is a winged Love, the moral of which is that even success in love depends for mankind on fortune rather than on beauty. Now I am in general agreement with Pindar's ode, and especially with his making Fortune one of the Fates, and more powerful than her sisters<sup>1</sup>. In this building at Aegeira is also an old man in the attitude of a mourner, three women taking off their bracelets, and likewise three lads, with a man wearing a breastplate. They say that in a war of the Achaeans this last man fought more bravely than any other soldier of Aegeira, but was killed. His surviving brothers carried home the news of his death, and therefore in mourning for him his sisters are discarding their ornaments, and

<sup>1</sup> *Frag* 41 (Schroeder).

ἐπονομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Συμπαθῇ, ἅτε ἐλεεινὸν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι.

- 10 Ὅδος δὲ ἐξ Αἰγείρας εὐθεία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς διὰ τε ὁρῶν καὶ ἀνάντης ἐστί· μῆκος μὲν οὖν τῆς ὁδοῦ τεσσαράκοντά εἰσι στάδιοι, ἄγει δὲ ἐς Φελλόην, πόλισμα οὐκ ἐπιφανές, ὃ οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> αἰεὶ ὠκεῖτο καὶ Ἰώνων ἔτι ἐχόντων τὴν γῆν. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἐς φυτείαν ἀμπέλων ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια· καὶ ὅσα πετρώδη τῆς χώρας, δρυὺς τέ εἰσι καὶ θηρία, ἔλαφοι καὶ ὕς ἄγριοι.
- 11 εἰ δέ τινα τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι πολισματίων ἀφθόνως καταρρεῖται τῷ ὕδατι, ἀριθμεῖν καὶ τὴν Φελλόην ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις. θεῶν δὲ ἱερὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν· ἡ μὲν χαλκοῦ πεποιήται, βέλος δὲ ἐκ φαρέτρας λαμβάνουσα· τῷ Διονύσῳ δὲ ὑπὸ κινναβάρεως τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν ἐπηνηθισμένον. ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐπίνειον καταβᾶσιν ἐξ Αἰγείρας καὶ αὐθις ἐς τὰ πρόσω βαδίζουσιν ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγροτέρας, ἔνθα τὴν αἶγα ὀκλάσαι λέγουσιν.
- 12 Τῆς δὲ Αἰγειρατῶν ἔχονται Πελληνεῖς· πρὸς Σικυῶνος δὲ οὗτοι καὶ μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος Ἀχαιῶν οἰκοῦσιν ἔσχατοι. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο τῇ πόλει λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Πελληνέων ἀπὸ Πάλλαντος, τῶν Τιτάνων δὲ καὶ Πάλλαντα εἶναι λέγουσι, δόξη δὲ τῇ Ἀργείων ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς Ἀργείου Πέλληνος· Φόρβαντος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Τριόπα παῖδα
- 13 αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. Αἰγείρας δὲ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ Πελλήνης πόλισμα ὑπήκοον Σικυωνίων Δονοῦσσα καλουμένη ἐγένετο μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἀνάσ-

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have οὐδὲ ἄς αἰε, or οὐδὲ αἰε, without ὃ Spiro conjectures τὸ δὲ αἰε

the natives call the father Sympathes, because even in the statue he is a piteous figure.

There is a straight road from the sanctuary of Zeus at Aegæira, passing through the mountains and steep. It is forty stades long, and leads to Phelloe, an obscure town, which was not always inhabited even when the Ionians still occupied the land.<sup>1</sup> The district round Phelloe is well suited for the growth of the vine, the rocky parts are covered with oaks, the home of deer and wild boars. You may reckon Phelloe one of the towns in Greece best supplied with flowing water. There are sanctuaries of Dionysus and of Artemis. The goddess is of bronze, and is taking an arrow from her quiver. The image of Dionysus is painted with vermilion. On going down from Aegæira to the port, and walking on again, we see on the right of the road the sanctuary of the Huntress, where they say the goat crouched.

The territory of Aegæira is bounded by that of Pellene, which is the last city of Achaia in the direction of Sicyon and the Argolid. The city got its name, according to the account of the Pellenians, from Pallas, who was, they say, one of the Titans, but the Argives think it was from Pellen, an Argive. And they say that he was the son of Phorbas, the son of Tiopas. Between Aegæira and Pellene once stood a town, subject to the Sicyonians and called Donussa, which was laid waste by the Sicyonians;

<sup>1</sup> This rendering would be much more natural with οὐδὲ instead of καὶ before Ἰώνων. It is therefore likely that Spiro's suggestion should be adopted. This would give. "an obscure town, but one which has always been inhabited, even when the Ionians dwelt in the land."

## PAUSANIAS DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

τατος, μνημονεύειν δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονί φασιν αὐτῆς ποιήσαντα ἔπος

οἷ θ' Ὑπερησίνην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Δουόεσσαν·

Πεισίστρατον δέ, ἥνικα ἔπη τὰ Ὀμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἄλλα<sup>1</sup> ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονευόμενα ἤθροιζε, τότε αὐτὸν Πεισίστρατον ἢ τῶν τινα ἐταίρων μεταποιῆσαι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας.  
 14 ἔστι δὲ Ἀριστοναῦται Πελληνεῦσιν ἐπίνειον. ἐς τοῦτο ἐξ Αἰγείρας τῆς ἐπὶ θαλάσση σταδίων ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν ὁδὸς καὶ ἑκατόν· ταύτης δὲ ἡμίσεια ἐς Πελλήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπινείου. ὄνομα δὲ Ἀριστοναύτας γενέσθαι τῷ ἐπινείῳ λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν λιμένα ὠρμίσαντο οἱ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς.

XXVII. Πελληνεῦσι δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ λόφου κατὰ ἄκραν τὴν κορυφὴν ἐς ὅξυ ἀνεστηκότος τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἀπότομον καὶ δι' αὐτό ἐστιν ἀοίκητον· τῷ δὲ χθαμαλωτέρῳ ἐπιπεπόλισται<sup>2</sup> σφισιν οὐ συνεχῆς ἡ πόλις, ἐς δὲ μοίρας νενεμημένη δύο ὑπὸ τῆς ἄκρας μεταξὺ ἀνεχούσης. ἰόντων δὲ ἐς Πελλήνην ἀγαλμά ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἐπὶ κλησιν μὲν Δόλιος, εὐχὰς δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἔτοιμος τελέσαι· σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ τετράγωνον, γένειά τε ἔχει καὶ  
 2 ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πῖλον<sup>3</sup> εἰργασμένον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀθηναῖς λίθου μὲν ἐπιχωρίου ναός, ἐλέφαντος δὲ τὸ ἀγαλμα καὶ χρυσοῦ· Φειδίαν δὲ εἶναι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλα was added by Schaefer.

<sup>2</sup> πεπόλισται MSS. ἐπιπεπόλισται Hitzig.

it is mentioned, they say, in a verse of Homer<sup>1</sup> that occurs in the list of those who accompanied Agamemnon —

And the men of Hyperesia and those of steep  
Donoessa

They go on to say that when Peisistratus collected the poems of Homer, which were scattered and handed down by tradition, some in one place and some in another, then either he or one of his colleagues perverted the name through ignorance. The port of Pellene is *Alistonautae*. Its distance from Aegira on the sea is one hundred and twenty stades, and to Pellene from this port is half that distance. They say that the name of *Alistonautae*<sup>2</sup> was given to that port because it was one of the harbours into which the Argonauts entered.

XXVII. The city of Pellene is on a hill which rises to a sharp peak at its summit. This part then is precipitous, and therefore uninhabited, but on the lower slopes they have built their city, which is not continuous, but divided into two parts by the peak that rises up between. As you go to Pellene there is, by the roadside, an image of Hermes, who, in spite of his surname of Crafty, is ready to fulfill the prayers of men. He is of square shape and bearded, and on his head is carved a cap. On the way to the city, close up to it, is a temple of Athena, built of local stone, but the image is of ivory and gold. They say that Pheidias made it

<sup>1</sup> *Ilad*, II. 573

<sup>2</sup> The Greek word means "best sailors"

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<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested to read *εὖ* before *εἰργασμένον*.

- εἰργασμένον φασὶ πρότερον ἔτι ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀκρο-  
 πόλει τε αὐτὸν τῇ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς  
 ποιῆσαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τὰ ἀγάλματα. λέγουσι  
 δὲ οἱ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄδυτον τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καθήκειν  
 ἐς βάθος τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ τὸ ἄδυτον τοῦτο ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ἀγάλματος τῷ βάθρῳ, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἀδύτου νότιόν τε εἶναι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τῷ ἐλέφαντι  
 3 ἐπιτήδειον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν  
 ἄλσος περιφκοδομημένον τείχει Σωτείρας ἐπί-  
 κλησιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁμνύουσιν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις  
 αὐτήν· ἔσοδός τε πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄλλῳ γε  
 οὐδενὶ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ἱερεῖς δὲ ἄνδρες τῶν  
 ἐπιχωρίων εἰσὶ κατὰ δόξαν γένους μάλιστα  
 αἰρούμενοι. τοῦ δὲ ἄλσους τῆς Σωτείρας ἱερὸν  
 ἀπαντικρὺ Διονύσου Λαμπτήρός ἐστιν ἐπὶ κλησιν·  
 τούτῳ καὶ Λαμπτήρια ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι, καὶ δαδᾶς  
 τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσιν ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οἴνου  
 4 κρατῆρας ἰστᾶσιν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν. ἐστὶ  
 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Θεοξενίου Πελληνεύσιν ἱερὸν,  
 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦ πεποιήται· καὶ ἀγῶνα  
 ἐπιτελοῦσι Θεοξένια τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, τιθέντες  
 ἀργύριον ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγωνίζονται  
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων. πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος τοξευούσης δὲ ἡ θεὸς  
 παρέχεται σχῆμα. ῥυκοδόμηται δὲ καὶ ἔλυτρον  
 κρήνης ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, καὶ λουτρά ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς  
 τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ τοι πίνειν πηγαί  
 σφισιν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν οὐ πολλαί· τὸ δὲ  
 χωρίον, ἔνθα αἱ πηγαί, Γλυκείας ὀνομάζουσι.  
 5 γυμνάσιον δὲ ἀρχαῖον ἐς ἐφήβων μάλιστα ἀνεῖται  
 μελέτην· οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐγγραφῆναι πρό-  
 τερον καθέστηκεν οὐδενὶ πρὶν ἢ ἐφηβεύσωσιν.



before he made the images of Athena on the Athenian acropolis and at Plataea. The people of Pellene also say that a shrine of Athena sinks deep into the ground, that this shrine is under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from the shrine is damp, and consequently good for the ivory. Above the temple of Athena is a grove, surrounded by a wall, of Artemis surnamed Saviour, by whom they swear their most solemn oaths. No man may enter the grove except the priests. These priests are natives, chosen chiefly because of their high birth. Opposite the grove of the Saviour is a sanctuary of Dionysus surnamed Torch. In his honour they celebrate a festival called the Feast of Torches, when they bring by night firebrands into the sanctuary, and set up bowls of wine throughout the whole city. There is also at Pellene a sanctuary of Apollo, the Strangers' God, and the image is made of bronze. They hold in honour of Apollo games that they call Theoxenia, with money as the prizes of victory, the competitors being the natives. Near the sanctuary of Apollo is a temple of Artemis, the goddess being represented in the attitude of shooting. In the market-place is built a tank, and for bathing they use rain-water, since for drinking there are a few springs beneath the city. The place where the springs are they name Glyceiae (*Sweet Springs*). There is an old gymnasium chiefly given up to the exercises of the youths. No one may be enrolled on the register of citizens before he has been on the register of

ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Πελληνεὺς ἔστηκε Πρόμαχος ὁ Δρύωνος, ἀνελόμενος παγκρατίου νίκας, τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπίᾳσι, τρεῖς δ' Ἰσθμίων καὶ Νεμέᾳ δύο· καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ποιήσαντες οἱ Πελληνεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 6 γυμνασίῳ, λίθου ταύτην καὶ οὐ χαλκοῦ. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Κορινθίου συνεστῶτος πολέμου Πελληνεῦσιν ἀποκτείνειεν ὁ Πρόμαχος πλείστους τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς Πουλυδάμαντος τοῦ Σκοτουςσαίου κρατήσειεν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸν δὲ Πουλυδάμαντα δεύτερα τότε ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀφίχθαι τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν ἀνασωθέντα οἴκαδε Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ ἡσσηθῆναι Πουλυδάμαντα οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες παρέχονται καὶ ἄλλα ἐς πίστιν καὶ ἐλεγείον ἐπὶ τῷ Πουλυδάμαντι·

ὦ τροφὲ Πουλυδάμαντος ἀνικάτου Σκοτόεσσα.

7 Πελληνεῖς δ' οὖν Πρόμαχον τὰ μάλιστα ἄγουσιν ἐν τιμῇ. Χαίρωνα δὲ δύο ἀνελόμενον πάλης νίκας Ἰσθμικὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τέσσαρας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐθέλουσιν ὀνομάζειν, ὅτι κατέλυσε πολιτείαν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὴν ἐν Πελλήνῃ, δῶρον τὸ ἐπιφθονώτατον παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου λαβών, τύραν-  
 8 νος πατρίδος τῆς αὐτοῦ καταστῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Πελληνεῦσιν ἱερόν· τοῦτο ἐν μοῖρα τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐλάσσονί ἐστιν ἰδρυμένον. τὸ δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Ποσειδίου τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότερα ἦν δῆμος, ἔρημον δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν. ἔστι μὲν δὴ τὸ Ποσειδίου τοῦτο ὑπὸ τὸ γυμνάσιον, διαμεμένηκε

<sup>1</sup> Ἰσθμικὰς is not in the MSS, but was added by Boeckh

youths Here stands a man of Pellene called Promachus, the son of Dryon, who won prizes in the pancratium, one at Olympia, three at the Isthmus and two at Nemea The Pellenians made two statues of him, dedicating one at Olympia and one in the gymnasium; the latter is of stone, not bronze. It is said too that when a war arose between Corinth and Pellene, Promachus killed a vast number of the enemy. It is said that he also overcame at Olympia Pulydamas of Scotusa, this being the occasion when, after his safe return home from the king of Persia, he came for the second time to compete in the Olympic games The Thessalians, however, refuse to admit that Pulydamas was beaten; one of the pieces of evidence they bring forward is a verse about Pulydamas:—

Scotoessa, nurse of unbeaten Pulydamas

Be this as it may, the people of Pellene hold Promachus in the highest honour But Chaeron, who carried off two prizes for wrestling at the Isthmian games and four at the Olympian, they will not even mention by name This I believe is because he overthrew the constitution of Pellene, and received from Alexander, the son of Philip, the most invidious of all gifts, to be set up as tyrant of one's own fatherland Pellene has also a sanctuary of Eileithyia, which is situated in the lesser portion of the city What is called the Poseidium in more ancient days was a township, but to-day it is uninhabited. This Poseidium is below the gymnasium,

δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερὸν νομίζεσθαι.

- 9 Πελλήνης δὲ ὅσον στάδια ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει τὸ Μύσαιον, ἱερὸν Δήμητρος Μυσίας· ἰδρύσασθαι δὲ αὐτὸ Μύσιόν φασιν ἄνδρα Ἀργεῖον, ἐδέξατο δὲ οἷκῳ Δήμητρα καὶ ὁ Μύσιος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀργεῖων. ἔστι δὲ ἄλσος ἐν τῷ Μυσαίῳ, δένδρα ὁμοίως τὰ πάντα, καὶ ὕδωρ ἄφθονον ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῶν. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν τῇ Δήμητρι ἐνταῦθα ἡμε-
- 10 ρῶν ἐπτά· τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὑπεξίσιν οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, καταλειπόμεναι δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες δρῶσιν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ὅποσα νόμος ἐστὶν αὐταῖς· ἀπελαύνονται δὲ οὐχ οἱ ἄνδρες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τὸ ἄρρεν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἀφικομένων ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, αἱ γυναῖκες τε ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας οἱ ἄνδρες γέλῳτί τε ἐς ἀλλήλους
- 11 χρῶνται καὶ σκώμασιν. ἀπωτέρω δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυσαίου ἱερὸν ἐστὶν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καλούμενον Κῦρος, καὶ ἰάματα ἀνθρώποις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. ὕδωρ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνέδην ἐστί, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν κατέρχονται τῶν<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τὴν Πελλήνην, πρὸς μὲν Αἰγείρας καλούμενος Κριὸς· ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὸν
- 12 τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Τιτᾶνος Κριοῦ· Κριὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὠνόμασται ποταμός, ὃς ἀρχόμενος ἐκ Σιπύλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐς τὸν Ἑρμον κάτεισι. καθότι δὲ Πελληνεῦσιν ὄροι τῆς χώρας πρὸς Σικυωνίους εἰσὶ, κατὰ τοῦτο ποταμός σφισι Σύθας, ἔσχατος ποταμῶν τῶν Ἀχαικῶν, ἐς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐκδίδωσι θάλασσαν.

and down to the present day it has been considered sacred to Poseidon

About sixty stades distant from Pellene is the Mysaeum, a sanctuary of the Mysian Demeter. It is said that it was founded by Mysius, a man of Argos, who according to Argive tradition gave Demeter a welcome in his home. There is a grove in the Mysaeum, containing trees of every kind, and in it issues a copious supply of water from springs. Here they also celebrate a seven days' festival in honour of Demeter. On the third day of the festival the men withdraw from the sanctuary, and the women are left to perform on that night the ritual that custom demands. Not only men are excluded, but even male dogs. On the following day the men come to the sanctuary, and the men and the women laugh and jeer at one another in turn. At no great distance from the Mysaeum is a sanctuary of Asclepius, called Cyrus, where cures of patients are effected by the god. Here too there is a copious supply of water, and at the largest of the springs stands the image of Asclepius. Rivers come down from the mountains above Pellene, the one on the side nearest Aegeira being called Crius, after, it is said, a Titan of the same name. There is another river called Cuius, which rises in Mount Sipylus and is a tributary of the Hermus. Where the territory of Pellene borders on that of Sicyon is a Pellenian river Sythas, the last of the Achaean rivers, which flows into the Sicyonian sea.

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<sup>1</sup> τῶν is not in the MSS, but was added by Schubart.



## BOOK VIII—ARCADIA

## Η

### ΑΡΚΑΔΙΚΑ

- Ι. Ἀρκάδων δὲ τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ἀργείας Τεγεᾶται τε ἔχουσι καὶ Μαντινεῖς, νέμονται δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν τὸ μεσόγαλον τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Κορίνθιοι γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ πρῶτοι. Κορινθίοις δὲ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης εἰσὶν Ἐπιδαύριοι γείτονες· τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον καὶ Τροιζηνά τε καὶ Ἑρμιόνα ὁ κόλπος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἀργολικὸς καὶ ὅσα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Ἀργείας ταύτης δὲ ἔχονται τῆς χώρας Λακεδαιμονίων περίοικοι, τούτοις δὲ ὁμορος ἡ Μεσσηνία· καταβαίνει γὰρ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐς Μοθώνην καὶ
- 2 Πύλον καὶ ἐπὶ Κυπαρισσίας. τὰ δὲ πρὸς Λεχαίου Κορινθίοις Σικυῶνιοι προσοικοῦσιν ἔσχατοι ταύτῃ μοίρας τῆς Ἀργολίδος· μετὰ δὲ Σικυῶνα Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν οἰκοῦντες· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Πελοποννήσου πέρας τὸ ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν Ἐχινάδων οἰκοῦσιν Ἠλείοι· τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Ἠλείας κατὰ μὲν Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν εἰσὶν ὄροι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἀχαίαν
- 3 Δυμαίων εἰσὶν ὁμοροι. τούτων τῶν κατειλεγμένων καθηκόντων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Ἀρκάδες τὸ ἐντὸς οἰκοῦσιν ἀποκλειόμενοι θαλάσσης πανταχόθεν· ὅθεν σφᾶς καὶ Ὀμηρος ἀφικέσθαι φησὶν



## BOOK VIII

### ARCADIA

I. THE part of Arcadia that lies next to the Aigive land is occupied by Tegeans and Mantineans, who with the rest of the Arcadians inhabit the interior of the Peloponnesus. The first people within the peninsula are the Corinthians, living on the Isthmus, and their neighbours on the side seawards are the Epidaurians. Along Epidaurus, Troezen, and Hermion, come the Argolic Gulf and the coast of Argolis. Next to Argolis come the vassals of Lacedaemon, and these border on Messenia, which comes down to the sea at Mothone, Pylus and Cyprissiae. On the side of Lechaëum the Corinthians are bounded by the Sicyonians, who dwell in the extreme part of Argolis on this side. After Sicyon come the Achaeans who live along the coast; at the other end of the Peloponnesus, opposite the Echinadian islands, dwell the Eleans. The land of Elis, on the side of Olympia and the mouth of the Alpheus, borders on Messenia; on the side of Achaia it borders on the land of Dyme. These that I have mentioned extend to the sea, but the Arcadians are shut off from the sea on every side and dwell in the interior. Hence, when they

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐς Τροίαν παρ' Ἀγαμέμνονος πλοῖα εἰληφότας  
καὶ οὐχὶ ναυσὶν οἰκείαις.

- 4 Φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὥς Πελασγὸς γένοιτο ἐν τῇ  
γῇ ταύτῃ πρῶτος εἰκὸς δὲ ἔχει τοῦ λόγου καὶ  
ἄλλους ὁμοῦ τῷ Πελασγῷ μηδὲ αὐτὸν Πελασγὸν  
γενέσθαι μόνον· ποίων γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἦρχεν ὁ  
Πελασγὸς ἀνθρώπων, μεγέθει μέντοι καὶ κατὰ  
ἀλκὴν καὶ κάλλος προεῖχεν ὁ Πελασγὸς καὶ  
γνώμην ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἦν, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα  
αἵρεσθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ βασιλεύειν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. πε-  
ποίηται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῳ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτόν·

Ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὑψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσι  
γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.

- 5 Πελασγὸς δὲ βασιλεύσας τοῦτο μὲν ποιήσασθαι  
καλύβας ἐπενόησεν, ὥς μὴ ῥιγοῦν τε καὶ ὕεσθαι  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ταλαι-  
πωρεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας τοὺς ἐκ τῶν  
δερμάτων τῶν οἰῶν,<sup>1</sup> οἷς καὶ νῦν περί τε Εὐβοίαν  
ἔτι χρῶνται καὶ ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι ὅπόσοι βίου σπανί-  
ζουσιν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξευρών. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν  
φύλλων τὰ ἔτι χλωρὰ καὶ πόας τε καὶ ῥίζας  
οὐδὲ ἐδωδίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλεθρίους ἐνίας σιτου-  
μένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τούτων μὲν ἔπαυσεν ὁ  
6 Πελασγός· ὁ δὲ τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δρυῶν οὔτι που  
πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους τῆς φηγοῦ τροφὴν  
ἐξεύρεν εἶναι. παρέμεινέ τε ἐνίοις ἐς τοσοῦτο  
ἀπὸ Πελασγοῦ τούτου ἡ δίαιτα, ὥς καὶ τὴν  
Πυθίαν, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις γῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδων  
ἀπηγόρευεν ἄπτεσθαι, καὶ τάδε εἰπεῖν τὰ ἔπη·

<sup>1</sup> οἰῶν is an emendation of the MS reading ὑῶν.

## ARCADIA, I 3-6

went to Troy, so Homer says, they did not sail in their own ships, but in vessels lent by Agamemnon

The Arcadians say that Pelasgus was the first inhabitant of this land. It is natural to suppose that others accompanied Pelasgus, and that he was not by himself, for otherwise he would have been a king without any subjects to rule over. However, in stature and in prowess, in beauty and in wisdom, Pelasgus excelled his fellows, and for this reason, I think, he was chosen to be king by them. Asius the poet says of him —

The godlike Pelasgus on the wooded mountains  
Black earth gave up, that the race of mortals  
might exist.

Pelasgus on becoming king invented huts that humans should not shiver, or be soaked by rain, or oppressed by heat. Moreover, he it was who first thought of coats of sheep-skins, such as poor folk still wear in Euboea and Phocis. He too it was who checked the habit of eating green leaves, grasses, and roots always inedible and sometimes poisonous. But he introduced as food the nuts of trees, not those of all trees but only the acorns of the edible oak. Some people have followed this diet so closely since the time of Pelasgus that even the Pythian priestess, when she forbade the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, uttered the following verses —

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες  
 ἔασιν,  
 οἳ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν· ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι  
 μεγαίρω.

Πελασγοῦ δὲ βασιλεύοντος γενέσθαι καὶ τῇ  
 χώρᾳ Πελασγίαν φασὶν ὄνομα.

II. Λυκάων δὲ ὁ Πελασγοῦ τοσάδε εὗρεν ἢ ὁ  
 πατήρ οἱ σοφώτερα Λυκόσουράν τε γὰρ πόλιν  
 ᾧκισεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Λυκαίῳ καὶ Δία ὠνόμασε  
 Λυκαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε Λύκαια. οὐκέτι δὲ τὰ  
 παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Παναθήναια τεθῆναι πρότερα  
 ἀποφαίνομαι· τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι Ἀθήναια  
 ὄνομα ἦν, Παναθήναια δὲ κληθῆναί φασιν ἐπὶ  
 Θησέως, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐτέθη συνειλεγμένων  
 2 ἐς μίαν ἀπάντων πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ὁ Ὀλυμ-  
 πικὸς—ἐπανάγουσι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἄνωτέρω  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπων γένους, Κρόνον καὶ Δία αὐτόθι  
 παλαῖσαι λέγοντες καὶ ὡς Κούρητες δράμοιεν  
 πρῶτοι—τούτων ἔνεκα ἐκτὸς ἔστω μοι τοῦ  
 παρόντος λόγου. δοκῶ δὲ ἔγωγε Κέκροπι ἡλι-  
 κίαν τῷ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λυκάονι  
 εἶναι τὴν αὐτήν, σοφία δὲ οὐχ ὁμοία σφᾶς ἐς τὸ  
 3 θεῖον χρήσασθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δία τε ὠνόμασεν  
 Ὑπατον πρῶτος, καὶ ὅποσα ἔχει ψυχὴν, τούτων  
 μὲν ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῦσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν  
 ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι· Λυκάων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς βρέφος ἤνεγκεν ἀνθρώ-  
 που καὶ ἔθυσε τὸ βρέφος καὶ ἔσπεισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 βωμοῦ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀντίκα ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ  
 γενέσθαι λύκον φασὶν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου. καὶ ἐμέ

In Arcadia are many men who eat acorns,  
Who will prevent you ; though I do not grudge it  
you.

It is said that it was in the reign of Pelasgus that the land was called Pelasgia

II. Lycaon the son of Pelasgus devised the following plans, which were more clever than those of his father. He founded the city Lycosura on Mount Lycaeus, gave to Zeus the surname Lycaeus and founded the Lycaean games. I hold that the Panathenian festival was not founded before the Lycaean. The early name for the former festival was the Athenian, which was changed to the Panathenian in the time of Theseus, because it was then established by the whole Athenian people gathered together in a single city. The Olympic games I leave out of the present account, because they are traced back to a time earlier than the human race, the story being that Cronus and Zeus wrestled there, and that the Curetes were the first to race at Olympia. My view is that Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, the king of Athens, but that they were not equally wise in matters of religion. For Cecrops was the first to name Zeus the Supreme god, and refused to sacrifice anything that had life in it, but burnt instead on the altar the national cakes which the Athenians still call *pelanoi*. But Lycaon brought a human baby to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, pouring out its blood upon the altar, and according to the legend immediately after the sacrifice he was changed from a man to a wolf (*lycos*). I for my part believe this

γε ὁ λόγος οὗτος πείθει, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν. οἱ  
γὰρ δὴ τότε ἄνθρωποι ξένοι καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι  
θεοῖς ἦσαν ὑπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας, καὶ  
σφισιν ἐναργῶς ἀπήντα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμὴ τε  
οὔσιν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀδικήσασιν ὡσαύτως ἡ ὀργή,  
ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ θεοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οὐ  
γέρα καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἔχουσιν ὡς Ἀρισταῖος καὶ  
Βριτόμαρτις ἡ Κρητικὴ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀλκ-  
μήνης καὶ Ἀμφιάραος ὁ Οἰκλέους, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς  
5 Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Κάστωρ. οὕτω πείθοιτο ἄν-  
τις καὶ Λυκάονα θηρίον καὶ τὴν Ταντάλου  
Νιόβην γενέσθαι λίθον. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ—κακία  
γὰρ δὴ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἠϋξέτο καὶ γῆν τε ἐπενέμετο  
πᾶσαν καὶ πόλεις πάσας—οὔτε θεὸς ἐγίνετο  
οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, πλὴν ὅσον λόγῳ καὶ  
κολακείᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὑπερέχον, καὶ ἀδίκους τὸ μῆνιμα  
τὸ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ὀψέ τε καὶ ἀπελθοῦσιν ἐνθένδε  
6 ἀπόκειται. ἐν δὲ τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι πολλὰ μὲν  
πάλαι συμβάντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἔτι γινόμενα ἄπιστα  
εἶναι πεποιήκασιν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τοῖς ἀληθέ-  
σιν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ἐψευσμένα. λέγουσι γὰρ  
δὴ ὡς Λυκάοιος ὕστερον αἰεὶ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπου  
λύκος γίνοιτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τοῦ Λυκαίου Διός,  
γίνοιτο δὲ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον· ὁπότε δὲ εἴη  
λύκος, εἰ μὲν κρεῶν ἀπόσχοιτο ἀνθρωπίνων,  
ὕστερον ἔτει δεκάτῳ φασὶν αὐτὸν αὖθις ἀνθρωπον  
ἐκ λύκου γίνεσθαι, γευσάμενον δὲ ἐς αἰεὶ μένειν  
7 θηρίον. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Νιόβην λέγουσιν ἐν  
Σιπύλῳ τῷ ὄρει θέρους ὄρα κλαίειν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ  
ἄλλα ἤκουσα, τοῖς γρυψὶ στίγματα ὁποῖα καὶ  
ταῖς παρδάλεσιν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς οἱ Τρίτωνες

story, it has been a legend among the Arcadians from of old, and it has the additional merit of probability. For the men of those days, because of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, eating at the same board, the good were openly honoured by the gods, and sinners were openly visited with their wrath. Nay, in those days men were changed to gods, who down to the present day have honours paid to them—Aristaeus, Britomartis of Crete, Heracles the son of Alcmena, Amphiaraus the son of Oicles, and besides these Polydeuces and Castor. So one might believe that Lycaon was turned into a beast, and Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus, into a stone. But at the present time, when sin has grown to such a height and has been spreading over every land and every city, no longer do men turn into gods, except in the flattering words addressed to despots, and the wrath of the gods is reserved until the sinners have departed to the next world. All through the ages, many events that have occurred in the past, and even some that occur to-day, have been generally discredited because of the lies built up on a foundation of fact. It is said, for instance, that ever since the time of Lycaon a man has changed into a wolf at the sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus, but that the change is not for life, if, when he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, after nine years he becomes a man again, but if he tastes human flesh he remains a beast for ever. Similarly too it is said that Niobe on Mount Sipylus sheds tears in the season of summer. I have also heard that the griffins have spots like the leopard, and that the

ἀνθρώπου φωνῇ φθέγγονται· οἱ δὲ καὶ φυσᾶν διὰ  
κόχλου τετρυπημένης φασὶν αὐτοὺς ὅποσοι δὲ  
μυθολογήμασιν ἀκούοντες ἡδονται, πεφύκασιν καὶ  
αὐτοὶ τι ἐπιτερατεύεσθαι· καὶ οὕτω τοῖς ἀληθέσιν  
ἐλυμήναντο, συγκεραυνύντες αὐτὰ ἐψευσμένοις.

III. Τρίτῃ δὲ ὕστερον γενεᾷ μετὰ Πελασγὸν ἔς  
τε πόλεων καὶ ἐς ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἐπέδωκεν  
ἡ χώρα. Νύκτιμος μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατός τε ἦν  
καὶ εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παῖδες τοῦ  
Λυκάονος πόλεις ἐνταῦθα ἔκτιζον ἔνθα ἐκάστῳ  
μάλιστα ἦν κατὰ γνώμην. Πάλλας μὲν καὶ Ὀρεσ-  
θεὺς καὶ Φίγαλος Παλλαντιον, Ὀρεσθεὺς δὲ Ὀρεσ-  
2 θάσιον, Φιγαλίαν δὲ οἰκίζει Φίγαλος. Παλλαντίου  
μὲν δὴ καὶ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος ἐν Γηρυονήδι  
ἐποίησατο μνήμην· Φιγαλία δὲ καὶ Ὀρεσθάσιον  
χρόνῳ μεταβάλλουσι τὰ ὀνόματα, Ὀρέστειόν τε  
ἀπὸ Ὀρέστου κληθεῖσα τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος καὶ  
Φιαλία ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουκολίωνος παιδὸς Φιάλου.  
Τραπεζεὺς δὲ καὶ Δασεάτας καὶ Μακαρεὺς καὶ  
Ἑλισσῶν καὶ Ἀκακός τε καὶ Θῶκνος Θωκνίαν  
πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀκακήσιον ἔκτισεν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ  
τοῦ Ἀκάκου καὶ Ὀμηρος λόγῳ τῷ Ἀρκάδων ἐς  
3 Ἑρμῆν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ κλησιν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλισσόντος  
ἢ τε πόλις καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Ἑλισσῶν τὰ ὀνόματα  
ἐσχήκασιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μακαρία τε καὶ  
Δασέα καὶ Τραπεζοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Λυκάονος ἐκλή-  
θησαν καὶ αὐταὶ παίδων. Ὀρχομενὸς δὲ ἐγένετο  
οἰκιστῆς Μεθυδρίου τε καλουμένης καὶ Ὀρχο-  
μενίων, οὓς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι πολυμήλους ὠνόμασεν  
Ὀμηρος. ὑπὸ δὲ Ὑψοῦντος καὶ \* \* Μελαινεαί  
τε ἐκτίσθησαν καὶ Ὑψοῦς, ἔτι δὲ Θυραῖόν τε καὶ  
Αἰμονιαί· δόξῃ δὲ τῇ Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἡ Θυρέα ἡ ἐν



Tritons speak with human voice, though otheis say that they blow through a shell that has been bored. Those who like to listen to the miraculous are themselves apt to add to the marvel, and so they ruin truth by mixing it with falsehood.

III In the third generation after Pelasgus the land increased in the number both of its cities and of its population. For Nyctimus, who was the eldest son of Lycaon, possessed all the power, while the other sons founded cities on the sites they considered best. Thus Pallantium was founded by Pallas, Oresthasium by Orestheus and Phigalia by Phigalus. Pallantium is mentioned by Stesichorus of Himera in his *Geryoneid*; Phigalia and Oresthasium in course of time changed their names, Oresthasium to Oresteium after Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, Phigalia to Phialia after Phialus, the son of Bucolon. Cities were founded by Trapezeus also, and by Daseatas, Macareus, Helisson, Acacus and Thocnus. The last founded Thocnia, and Acacus Acacesium. It was after this Acacus, according to the Arcadian account, that Homer<sup>1</sup> made a surname for Hermes. Helisson has given a name to both the town and the river so called, and similarly Macaria, Dasea, and Trapezus were named after the sons of Lycaon. Orchomenus became founder of both the town called Methydrium and of Orchomenus, styled by Homer<sup>2</sup> "rich in sheep." Hypsus and . . .<sup>3</sup> founded Melaeneae and Hypsus, and also Thyraeum and Haemoniae. The Arcadians are of opinion that both the Thyrea in Argolis and

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xvi 185

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, ii 605

<sup>3</sup> The gap in the MSS has not yet been filled by any satisfactory emendation

- τῇ Ἀργολίδι γῇ καὶ ὁ Θυρεάτης καλούμενος  
κόλπος ἀπὸ τοῦ Θυραίου τούτου τὰ ὀνόματα  
4 ἐσχήκασιν. Μαντινεὺς δὲ καὶ Τεγεάτης καὶ  
Μαίναλος, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ πόλεων ὀνομασ-  
τοτάτην τὸ ἀρχαῖον Μαίναλον, Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ  
Μαντινεὺς Τεγέαν κτίζουσι καὶ Μαντίνειαν.  
ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ Κρώμου Κρώμοι, καὶ  
Χαρισία Χαρίσιον ἔχουσα οἰκιστήν, Τρικόλωνι  
δὲ ἀπὸ Τρικολώνου, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Περαιθίου  
Περαιθεῖς, Ἀσέα δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσεάτα καὶ . . . Λυκόα  
καὶ Σουματία ἀπὸ Σουματέως· Ἀλῖφηρος δὲ καὶ  
Ἡραιεὺς ἐπώνυμοι καὶ οὗτοι πόλεσιν εἰσιν ἀμφο-  
5 τεροι. Οἰνωτρος δὲ ὁ τῶν παίδων νεώτατος  
Λυκάονι ἀρσένων Νύκτιμον τὸν ἀδελφὸν χρήματα  
καὶ ἄνδρας αἰτήσας ἐπεραιώθη ναυσὶν ἐς Ἰταλίαν,  
καὶ ἡ Οἰνωτρία χώρα τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἀπὸ  
Οἰνώτρου βασιλεύοντος οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
ἐς ἀποικίαν στόλος πρῶτος ἐστάλη· ἀναριθμου-  
μένῳ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον οὐδὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρ-  
βάρων οὐδένες πρότερον ἢ Οἰνωτρος ἀφίκοντο ἐς  
τὴν ἄλλοδαπὴν.
- 6 Ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ γένει παντὶ τῷ ἄρσενι θυγάτηρ  
Λυκάονι ἐγένετο Καλλιστώ. ταύτῃ τῇ Καλλισ-  
τοῖ—λέγω δὲ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων—  
συνεγένετο ἐρασθεὶς Ζεὺς· Ἥρα δὲ ὡς ἐφώρασεν,  
ἐποίησεν ἄρκτον τὴν Καλλιστῶ, Ἄρτεμις δὲ ἐς  
χάριν τῆς Ἥρας κατετόξευσεν αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς  
Ἑρμῆν πέμπει σῶσαι τὸν παῖδά οἱ προστάξας,  
7 ὃν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ εἶχεν ἡ Καλλιστώ· Καλλιστῶ  
δὲ αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν ἀστέρας καλουμένην ἄρκτον  
μεγάλην, ἧς καὶ Ὀμηρος ἐν Ὀδυσσέως ἀνάπλω  
παρὰ Καλυψοῦς μνήμην ἔσχε·

also the Thyrean gulf were named after this Thyraeus. Maenalus founded Maenalus, which was in ancient times the most famous of the cities of Arcadia, Tegeates founded Tegea and Mantineus Mantinea. Cromi was named after Cromus, Charisia after Chaisius, its founder, Tricoloni after Tricolonus, Peraethenses after Peiaethus, Asea after Aseatas, Lycoa after .<sup>1</sup>, and Sumatia after Sumateus. Alipherus also and Heraeus both gave their names to cities. But Oenotrus, the youngest of the sons of Lycaon, asked his brother Nyctimus for money and men and crossed by sea to Italy; the land of Oenotria received its name from Oenotrus who was its king. This was the first expedition despatched from Greece to found a colony, and if a man makes the most careful calculation possible he will discover that no foreigners either emigrated to another land before Oenotrus.

In addition to all this male issue, Lycaon had a daughter Callisto. This Callisto (I repeat the current Greek legend) was loved by Zeus and mated with him. When Hera detected the intrigue she turned Callisto into a bear, and Artemis to please Hera shot the bear. Zeus sent Hermes with orders to save the child that Callisto bore in her womb, and Callisto herself he turned into the constellation known as the Great Bear, which is mentioned by Homer<sup>2</sup> in the return voyage of Odysseus from Calypso.—

<sup>1</sup> There is apparently a gap here in the MSS. Musurus wished to fill it by the words ἀπὸ Λυκέως, "after Lyceus"

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey*, v 272.

## PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

Πληιάδας τ' ἐσορώντα καὶ ὄψε δύοντα Βοώτην  
ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν.

ἔχοιεν δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ὄνομα οἱ ἀστέρες ἐπὶ  
τιμῇ τῇ Καλλιστοῦς, ἐπεὶ τάφον γε αὐτῆς ἀπο-  
φαίνουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

- IV. Μετὰ δὲ Νύκτιμον ἀποθανόντα Ἀρκὰς  
ἐξεδέξατο ὁ Καλλιστοῦς τὴν ἀρχήν· καὶ τὸν τε  
ἡμερον καρπὸν ἐσηγάγετο οὗτος παρὰ Τριπτολέ-  
μου καὶ τὴν ποίησιν ἐδίδαξε τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ἐσθῆτα  
ὑφαίνεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ ἐς ταλασίαν μαθὼν  
παρ' Ἀδρίστα.<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος  
Ἀρκαδία τε ἀντὶ Πελασγίας ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀντὶ
- 2 Πελασγῶν Ἀρκάδες ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι. συν-  
οικῆσαι δὲ οὐ θνητῇ γυναικὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ νύμφῃ  
Δρυάδι ἔλεγον· Δρυάδας γὰρ δὴ καὶ Ἐπιμηλιάδας,  
τὰς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν Ναίδας, καὶ Ὀμήρῳ γε ἐν  
τοῖς ἔπεσι Ναίδων νυμφῶν μάλιστά ἐστι μνήμη.  
τὴν δὲ νύμφην ταύτην καλοῦσιν Ἐρατώ, καὶ ἐκ  
ταύτης φασὶν Ἀρκάδι Ἀζᾶνα καὶ Ἀφείδαντα  
γενέσθαι καὶ Ἑλατον· ἐγεγόνει δὲ αὐτῷ πρότερον
- 3 ἔτι Αὐτόλαος νόθος. τοῖς δὲ παισίν, ὡς ἠϋξήθη-  
σαν, διένειμεν Ἀρκὰς τριχῇ τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀπὸ  
μὲν Ἀζᾶνος ἡ Ἀζανία μοῖρα ὠνομάσθη· παρὰ  
τούτων δὲ ἀποικισθῆναι λέγουσιν, ὅσοι περὶ τὸ  
ἄντρον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τὸ καλούμενον Στεῦνος καὶ  
Πέγκαλαν ποταμὸν οἰκοῦσιν. Ἀφείδας δὲ Τεγέαν  
καὶ τὴν προσεχῇ ταύτης ἔλαχεν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ  
καὶ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν Ἀφειδάντειον κληῖρον τὴν
- 4 Τεγέαν. Ἑλατος δὲ ἔσχε τὸ ὄρος τὴν Κυλλήνην,  
ἔτι τότε οὔσαν ἀνώνυμον· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
μετώκησεν ὁ Ἑλατος ἐς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην

## ARCADIA, III 7-IV. 4

Gazing at the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes,  
And the Bear, which they also call the Wain

But it may be that the constellation is merely named in honour of Callisto, since her grave is pointed out by the Arcadians

IV After the death of Nyctimus, Arcas the son of Callisto came to the throne. He introduced the cultivation of crops, which he learned from Triptolemus, and taught men to make bread, to weave clothes, and other things besides, having learned the art of spinning from Adistas. After this king the land was called Arcadia instead of Pelasgia and its inhabitants Arcadians instead of Pelasgians. His wife, according to the legend, was no mortal woman but a Dryad nymph. For they used to call some nymphs Dryads, others Epimeliads, and others Naiads, and Homer in his poetry talks mostly of Naiad nymphs. This nymph they call Erato, and by her they say that Arcas had Azan, Apheidas and Elatus. <sup>1</sup> Previously he had had Autolaus, an illegitimate son. When his sons grew up, Arcas divided the land between them into three parts, and one district was named Azania after Azan; from Azania, it is said, settled the colonists who dwell about the cave in Phrygia called Steunos and the river Pen-calas. To Apheidas fell Tegea and the land adjoining, and for this reason poets too call Tegea "the lot of Apheidas." Elatus got Mount Cyllene, which down to that time had received no name. Afterwards Elatus migrated to what is now called Phocis,

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<sup>1</sup> So the MSS. *παρ' Ἀριστάου* Sylburg *παρὰ Δρίστα* Spiro

- Φωκίδα, καὶ τοῖς τε Φωκεῦσιν ἤμυνεν ὑπὸ  
 Φλεγυῶν πολέμῳ πιεζομένοις καὶ Ἐλατείας  
 πόλεως ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς παῖδα δὲ Ἀζᾶνι μὲν  
 Κλείτορα, Ἀφείδαντι δὲ Ἄλεον, Ἐλάτῳ δέ  
 φασιν εἶναι πέντε, Αἵπυτον Περέα Κυλλήνα  
 5 Ἴσχυν Στύμφηλον. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀζᾶνι τῷ Ἀρκάδος  
 τελευτήσαντι ἄθλα ἐτέθη πρῶτον· εἰ μὲν καὶ  
 ἄλλα, οὐκ οἶδα, ἵπποδρομίας δὲ ἐτέθη. Κλείτωρ  
 μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀζᾶνος ἐν Λυκοσῶρα τε ὥκει καὶ ἦν τῶν  
 βασιλέων δυνατώτατος καὶ Κλείτορα ὥκισεν ἀφ'  
 αὐτοῦ πόλιν, Ἄλεος δὲ εἶχε τὴν πατρίαν λήξιν·  
 6 ἀπὸ δὲ Ἐλάτου τῶν παίδων Κυλλήνην τὸ ὄρος  
 καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνος, καὶ ἀπὸ Στυμφήλου  
 πηγή τε ὀνομάζεται καὶ πόλις Στύμφηλος ἐπὶ τῇ  
 πηγῇ. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Ἴσχυος τοῦ Ἐλά-  
 του πρότερον ἔτι ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀργολίδι  
 ἐδήλωσα. παῖδα δὲ Περεῖ ἄρρενα μὲν φασιν  
 οὐδένα, Νέαιραν δὲ γενέσθαι θυγατέρα ταύτην  
 γυναῖκα ἔσχεν Αὐτόλυκος, οἰκῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ ὄρει  
 τῷ Παρνασσῷ, λεγόμενος δὲ Ἑρμοῦ παῖς εἶναι,  
 Δαιδαλίωνος δὲ ὦν τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ.
- 7 Κλείτορι δὲ τῷ Ἀζᾶνος οὐ γενομένων παίδων,  
 ἐς Αἵπυτον Ἐλάτου περιεχώρησεν ἡ Ἀρκάδων  
 βασιλεία· τὸν δὲ Αἵπυτον ἐξελθόντα ἐς ἄγραν  
 θηρίων μὲν τῶν ἀλκιμωτέρων οὐδέν, σῆψ δὲ οὐ  
 προιδόμενον ἀποκτίνουσι. τὸν δὲ ὄφιν τοῦτον  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε εἶδον· κατὰ ἔχιν ἐστὶ τὸν  
 μικρότατον, τέφρα ἐμφερής, στίγμασιν οὐ συν-  
 εχέσι πεποικιλμένος· κεφαλὴ δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ  
 πλατεῖα καὶ τράχηλος στενός, γαστέρα δὲ ἔχει  
 μείζονα καὶ οὐραν βραχεῖαν· βαδίζει δὲ οὗτός  
 τε καὶ ὄφιν ἕτερος ὁ κεράστης καλούμενος

helped the Phocians when hard pressed in war by the Phlegyans, and became the founder of the city Elateia. It is said that Azan had a son Cleitor, Apheridas a son Aleus, and that Elatus had five sons, Aepytus, Pereus, Cyllen, Ischys, and Stymphalus. On the death of Azan, the son of Arcas, athletic contests were held for the first time; horse-races were certainly held, but I cannot speak positively about other contests. Now Cleitor the son of Azan dwelt in Lycosura, and was the most powerful of the kings, founding Cleitor, which he named after himself, Aleus held his father's portion. Of the sons of Elatus, Cyllen gave his name to Mount Cyllene, and Stymphalus gave his to the spring and to the city Stymphalus near the spring. The story of the death of Ischys, the son of Elatus, I have already told in my history of Argolis<sup>1</sup>. Pereus, they say, had no male child, but only a daughter, Neaia. She married Autolycus, who lived on Mount Parnassus, and was said to be a son of Hermes, although his real father was Daedalion.

Cleitor, the son of Azan, had no children, and the sovereignty of the Arcadians devolved upon Aepytus, the son of Elatus. While out hunting, Aepytus was killed, not by any of the more powerful beasts, but by a *seps* that he failed to notice. This species of snake I have myself seen. It is like the smallest kind of adder, of the colour of ash, with spots dotted here and there. It has a broad head and a narrow neck, a large belly and a short tail. This snake, like another called *cerastes* ("the horned snake"), walks

<sup>1</sup> See Book II. xxvi 6

## PAUSANIAS DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἐνδιδόντες ἐς τὰ πλάγια, ὥσπερ οἱ καρκίνοι.  
 8 μετὰ δὲ Αἵπυτον ἔσχεν Ἄλεος τὴν ἀρχήν·  
 Ἀγαμήδης μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γόρτυς οἱ Στυμφήλου  
 τέταρτον γένος ἦσαν ἀπὸ Ἀρκάδος, Ἄλεος δὲ  
 τρίτον ὁ Ἀφείδαντος. Ἄλεος δὲ τῇ τε Ἀθηνᾷ  
 τῇ Ἀλέᾳ τὸ ἱερὸν ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν Τεγέα τὸ  
 ἀρχαῖον καὶ αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο αὐτόθι ἡ βασι-  
 λεία· Γόρτυς δὲ ὁ Στυμφήλου πόλιν Γόρτυνα  
 ὠκισεν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ· καλεῖται δὲ Γορτύνιος καὶ ὁ  
 ποταμός. Ἀλέῳ δὲ ἄρσενες μὲν παῖδες Λυ-  
 κουῦργός τε καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Κηφεύς, θυγάτηρ  
 9 δὲ ἐγένετο Αὔγη ταύτῃ τῇ Αὔγῃ τῷ Ἑκαταίου  
 λόγῳ συνεγίνετο Ἡρακλῆς, ὅποτε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς  
 Τεγέα· τέλος δὲ καὶ ἐφωράθη τετοκυῖα ἐκ τοῦ  
 Ἡρακλέους, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Ἄλεος ἐσθέμενος ὁμοῦ  
 τῷ παιδί ἐς λάρνακα ἀφίησεν ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ  
 ἡ μὲν ἀφίκετο ἐς Τεύθραντα δυνάστην ἄνδρα  
 ἐν Καΐκου πεδίῳ καὶ συνώκησεν ἐρασθέντι τῷ  
 Τεύθραντι· καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν Αὔγης μνήμα ἐν  
 Περγᾶμῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καΐκου, γῆς χῶμα λίθου  
 περιεχόμενον κρηπῖδι, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ μνήματι  
 10 ἐπίθημα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, γυνὴ γυμνή· μετὰ  
 δὲ Ἄλεον τελευτήσαντα Λυκουῦργος ὁ Ἀλέου τὴν  
 βασιλείαν πρεσβεῖα ἔσχε· παρέσχετο δὲ ἐς  
 μνήμην Ἀρηίοθον ἄνδρα πολεμικὸν δόλῳ καὶ οὐ  
 σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κτείνας· γενομένων δὲ αὐτῷ  
 παίδων Ἀγκαίου τε καὶ Ἐπόχου, τὸν μὲν  
 νοσήσαντα ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεῶν, Ἀγκαῖος δὲ  
 Ἰάσονί τε τοῦ πλοῦ μετέσχευ ἐς Κόλχους καὶ  
 ὕστερον ὁμοῦ Μελεάγρῳ τὸ ἐν Καλυδῶνι κατ-  
 εργαζόμενος θηρίον ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕος.

V. Λυκουῦργος μὲν δὴ πορρωτάτῳ γήρως



with a sidelong motion, as do crabs After Aepytyus Aleus came to the throne. For Agamedes and Gortys, the sons of Stymphalus, were three generations removed from Arcas, and Aleus, the son of Apheidas, two generations Aleus built the old sanctuary in Tegea of Athena Alea, and made Tegea the capital of his kingdom Gortys the son of Stymphalus founded the city Gortys on a river which is also called after him The sons of Aleus were Lycurgus, Amphidamas and Cepheus; he also had a daughter Auge Hecataeus says that this Auge used to have intercourse with Heracles when he came to Tegea At last it was discovered that she had borne a child to Heracles, and Aleus, putting her with her infant son in a chest, sent them out to sea. She came to Teuthras, lord of the plain of the Caicus, who fell in love with her and married her. The tomb of Auge still exists at Pergamus above the Caicus; it is a mound of earth surrounded by a basement of stone and surmounted by a figure of a naked woman in bronze. After the death of Aleus Lycurgus his son got the kingdom as being the eldest, he is notorious for killing, by treachery and not in fair fight, a warrior called Areithous Of his two sons, Ancaeus and Epochus, the latter fell ill and died, while the former joined the expedition of Jason to Colchis; afterwards, while hunting down with Meleager the Calydonian boar, he was killed by the brute.

V. So Lycurgus outlived both his sons, and reached

## PAUSANIAS. DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

ἀφίκετο ἐπιδὼν τοὺς παῖδας ἀμφοτέρους τελευ-  
 τήσαντας· Λυκούργου δὲ ἀποθανόντος Ἐχεμος  
 ὁ Ἀερόπου τοῦ Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου τὴν Ἀρκάδων  
 ἔσχεν ἀρχήν. ἐπὶ τούτου Δωριεῖς κατιόντας ἐς  
 Πελοπόννησον ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνι Ἕλλω τῷ Ἡρακλέους  
 Ἀχαιοὶ περὶ ἰσθμὸν τὸν Κορινθίων κρατοῦσι  
 μάχῃ, καὶ Ἐχεμος ἀποκτίννυσιν Ἕλλον μονο-  
 μαχήσαντά οἱ κατὰ πρόκλησιν. τάδε γὰρ  
 ἐφαίνετο εἰκότα εἶναί μοι μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ πρότερος  
 λόγος, ἐν ᾧ βασιλεύειν τε Ἀχαιῶν τηνικαῦτα  
 Ὀρέστην ἔγραψα καὶ Ἕλλον Ὀρέστου  
 βασιλεύοντος ἀποπειρᾶσαι καθόδου τῆς ἐς Πελο-  
 πόννησον. φαίνοιτο δ' ἂν τῷ ὑστέρῳ τῶν λόγων  
 καὶ Τιμάνδρα συνοικήσασα ἢ Τυνδάρεω τῷ  
 2 ἀποκτείναντι Ἕλλον Ἐχέμῳ. Ἀγαπήνωρ δὲ ὁ  
 Ἀγκαίου τοῦ Λυκούργου μετὰ Ἐχεμον βασι-  
 λεύσας ἐς Τροίαν ἡγήσατο Ἀρκάσιν Ἰλίου δὲ  
 ἀλούσης ὁ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν  
 οἴκαδε ἐπιγενόμενος χειμὼν Ἀγαπήνορα καὶ τὸ  
 Ἀρκάδων ναυτικὸν κατήνεγκεν ἐς Κύπρον, καὶ  
 Πάφου τε Ἀγαπήνωρ ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τῆς  
 Ἀφροδίτης κατεσκευάσατο ἐν Παλαιπάφῳ τὸ  
 ἱερόν· τέως δὲ ἡ θεὸς παρὰ Κυπρίων τιμὰς εἶχεν  
 3 ἐν Γολγοῖς καλουμένῳ χωρίῳ. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον  
 Λαοδίκη γεγονυῖα ἀπὸ Ἀγαπήνορος ἔπεμψεν ἐς  
 Τεγέαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀλέα πέπλον· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 ἀναθήματι ἐπίγραμμα καὶ αὐτῆς Λαοδίκης ἅμα  
 ἐδήλου τὸ γένος·

Λαοδίκης ὅδε πέπλος· ἐὰ δ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀθηνᾷ  
 πατρίδ' ἐς εὐρύχορον Κύπρου ἀπὸ ζαθέας.

4 Ἀγαπήνορος δὲ οὐκ ἀνασωθέντος οἴκαδε ἐξ

an extreme old age. On his death, Echemus, son of Aeropus, son of Cepheus, son of Aleus, became king of the Arcadians. In his time the Dorians, in their attempt to return to the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Hyllus, the son of Heracles, were defeated by the Achæans at the Isthmus of Corinth, and Echemus killed Hyllus, who had challenged him to single combat. I have come to the conclusion that this is a more probable story than the one I gave before,<sup>1</sup> that on this occasion Orestes was king of the Achæans, and that it was during his reign that Hyllus attempted to return to the Peloponnesus. If the second account be accepted, it would appear that Timandra, the daughter of Tyndareus, married Echemus, who killed Hyllus. Agapenor, the son of Ancaeus, the son of Lycurgus, who was king after Echemus, led the Arcadians to Troy. After the capture of Troy the storm that overtook the Greeks on their return home carried Agapenor and the Arcadian fleet to Cyprus, and so Agapenor became the founder of Paphos, and built the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos (*Old Paphos*). Up to that time the goddess had been worshipped by the Cyprians in the district called Golgi. Afterwards Laodice, a descendant of Agapenor, sent to Tegea a robe as a gift for Athena Alea. The inscription on the offering told as well the race of Laodice.—

This is the robe of Laodice, she offered it to her  
Athena,  
Sending it to her broad fatherland from divine  
Cyprus.

When Agapenor did not return home from Troy,

<sup>1</sup> See Book I. xli 2.

- Ἰλίου, παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰππόθους Κερκυνόνος τοῦ Ἀγαμήδους τοῦ Στυμφήλου. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπιφανὲς συμβῆναι παρὰ τὸν βίον φασὶν οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐκ ἐν Τεγέα τὴν βασιλείαν κατεστήσατο ἀλλὰ ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι· Αἵπυτος δὲ ὁ Ἰππόθου μετὰ τὸν πατέρα ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ Ὁρέστης ὁ Ἀγαμέμνονος κατὰ μαντείαν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀπόλλωνος μετόκησεν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐκ 5 Μυκηνῶν. Αἰπύτῳ δὲ τῷ Ἰππόθου παρελθεῖν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τολμήσαντι—ἔσοδος δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε τότε ἐς αὐτὸ ἦν οὔτε ἄχρι ἡμῶν ἔστιν— ἐς τοῦτο ἐσελθόντι τυφλωθῆναι καὶ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς συμφορᾶς τελευτῆσαί οἱ τὸν βίον ἐγένετο
- 6 Κυψέλου δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου βασιλεύοντος μετὰ Αἵπυτον, ὁ Δωριέων στόλος οὐ διὰ τοῦ Κορινθίων ἰσθμοῦ, καθὰ ἐπὶ τρεῖς τὰς πρότερον γενεάς, ναυσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον Ῥίον κάτεισιν ἐς Πελοπόννησον· πυνθανόμενός τε τὰ <sup>1</sup> ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁ Κύψελος, ὃν τῶν Ἀριστομάχου παίδων οὐκ ἔχοντά <sup>2</sup> πῶ γυναῖκα εὔρισκε, τούτῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκδοὺς καὶ οἰκειωσάμενος τὸν Κρεσφόντην αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐκτὸς ἐστήκεσαν δεί- 7 ματος. Ὀλαίας δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, ὃς καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τὸν παῖδα Αἵπυτον, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος καὶ Ἀργούς Ἡρακλείδαι κατάγουσιν ἐς Μεσσήνην. τοῦ δὲ ἦν Βουκολίων, τοῦ δὲ Φίαλος, ὃς τὸν Αὐκάονος Φίγαλον οἰκιστὴν ὄντα ἀφελόμενος τὴν τιμὴν Φιαλίαν τὸ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει μετέθετο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ· οὐ μὴν καὶ ἐς

<sup>1</sup> τὰ is not in the MSS, but was added to the text by Schubart.

the kingdom devolved upon Hippothous, the son of Ceicyon, the son of Agamedes, the son of Stymphalus. No remarkable event is recorded of his life, except that he established as the capital of his kingdom not Tegea but Triapezus. Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, succeeded his father to the throne, and Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, in obedience to an oracle of the Delphic Apollo, moved his home from Mycenae to Arcadia. Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, dared to enter the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mantinea, into which no mortal was, just as no mortal to-day is, allowed to pass, on entering it he was struck blind, and shortly after this calamity he died.

Aepytus was succeeded as king by his son Cypselus, and in his reign the Dorian expedition returned to the Peloponnesus, not, as three generations before, across the Corinthian Isthmus, but by sea to the place called Rhium. Cypselus, learning about the expedition, married his daughter to the son of Aristomachus whom he found without a wife, and so winning over Cresphontes he himself and the Arcadians had nothing at all to fear. Holaeas was the son of Cypselus, who, aided by the Heracleidae from Lacedaemon and Argos, restored to Messene his sister's son Aepytus. Holaeas had a son Bucolion, and he a son Phialus, who robbed Phigalus, the son of Lycaon, the founder of Phigalia, of the honour of giving his name to the city; Phialus changed it to Phialia, after his own name, but the change did not

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<sup>2</sup> The MSS. have *δντων*.

- 8 ἅπαν γε ἐξενίκησεν. ἐπὶ δὲ Σίμου τοῦ Φιάλου βασιλεύοντος ἠφανίσθη Φιγαλεῦσιν ὑπὸ πυρὸς τῆς Μελαίνης Δήμητρος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανον· ἐσήμαινε δὲ ἄρα οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτῷ Σίμῳ τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν. Πόμπου δὲ ἐκδεξαμένου τοῦ Σίμου τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται κατὰ ἐμπορίαν ἐσέπλεον ναυσὶν ἐς Κυλλήνην, ἐκείθεν δὲ ὑποζυγίοις τὰ φορτία ἀνῆγον παρὰ τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. ἀντὶ τούτου ἐτίμησεν ὁ Πόμπος
- 9 μεγάλως, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα Αἰγινῆτην τῷ παιδί· ἔθετο ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰγινητῶν τῇ φιλίᾳ. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινῆτην Πολυμήστωρ ἐγένετο ὁ Αἰγινῆτου βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Χάριλλος πρῶτον τότε ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐσβάλλουσι στρατιᾷ· καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Τεγεᾶται καὶ γυναῖκες ὅπλα ἐνδύσαι μάχῃ νικῶσι, καὶ τὸν τε ἄλλον στρατὸν καὶ αὐτὸν Χάριλλον ζῶντα αἱροῦσι. Χαρίλλου μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς ἐς πλεον μνήμην ποιησόμεθα ἐν τοῖς
- 10 Τεγεατικοῖς· Πολυμήστορι δὲ οὐ γενομένων παίδων παρέλαβεν Αἰχμῖς τὴν ἀρχήν, Βριάκα μὲν παῖς, Πολυμήστορος δὲ ἀδελφιδούς· Αἰγινῆτου γὰρ ἦν καὶ Βριάκας, νεώτερος δὲ ἦν Πολυμήστορος. Αἰχμιδος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐγένετο ὁ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους πόλεμος· τοῖς δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχε μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους εὖνοια ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἀριστο-
- 11 δήμου βασιλεύοντος ἐν Μεσσίῃ. Ἀριστοκράτης δὲ ὁ Αἰχμιδος τάχα μὲν πού καὶ ἄλλα ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὕβρισεν· ἃ δὲ ἀνοσιώτατα ἔργων ἐς

## PAUSANIAS DESCRIPTION OF GREECE

- θεοὺς ἐργασάμενον οἶδα αὐτόν, ἐπέξεισί μοι ταῦτα ὁ λόγος. ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ὑμνίας ἐπὶ κλησιν τοῦτο ἐν ὄροις μὲν ἔστιν Ὀρχομενίων, πρὸς δὲ τῇ Μαντινικῇ· σέβουσιν ἐκ παλαιοτάτου καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἀρκάδες Ὑμνίαν Ἀρτεμιν. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῆς θεοῦ τότε ἔτι
- 12 κόρη παρθένος. Ἀριστοκράτης δέ, ὥς οἱ πειρῶντι τὴν παρθένον ἀντέβαινεν ἀεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς, τέλος καταφυγοῦσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν παρὰ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἦσχυεν ὥς δὲ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐξηγγέλθη τὸ τόλμημα, τὸν μὲν καταλιθοῦσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, μετεβλήθη δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ ὁ νόμος· ἀντὶ γὰρ παρθένου διδόασιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἰέριαν γυναῖκα ὁμίλιας ἀνδρῶν ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσιν.
- 13 τούτου δὲ υἱὸς ἐγένετο Ἰκέτας, Ἰκέτα δὲ Ἀριστοκράτης ἄλλος ὁμώνυμός τε τῷ προγόνῳ καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὴν αὐτὴν ἔσχεν ἐκείνῳ τελευτὴν κατελίθωσαν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φωράσαντες δῶρα ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος εἰληφότα καὶ Μεσσηνίοις τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ Μεγάλῃ τάφρῳ πταῖσμα προδοσίαν τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους οὔσαν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ τῷ γένει τῷ ἀπὸ Κυψέλου παντὶ παρέσχεν αἰτίαν παυσθῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

VI. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐς τοὺς βασιλεῖς πολυπραγμονήσαντί μοι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐγενεαλόγησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες· κοινῇ δὲ Ἀρκάσιν ὑπῆρχεν ἐς μνήμην τὰ μὲν ἀρχαιότατα ὁ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ πόλεμος, δεύτερα δὲ ὅποσα ἀμύνοντες Μεσσηνίοις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο· μέτεστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Μήδους σφίσιν ἔργου τοῦ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς.

2 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἀνάγκῃ πλέον καὶ οὐ μετ' εὐνοίας ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους συνεστρατεύσαντο καὶ

impious acts, however, against the gods I have sure knowledge, and I will proceed to relate them. There is a sanctuary of Artemis, surnamed Hymnia, standing on the borders of Orchomenus, near the territory of Mantinea. Artemis Hymnia has been worshipped by all the Arcadians from the most remote period. At that time the office of priestess to the goddess was still always held by a girl who was a virgin. The maiden persisted in resisting the advances of Aristocrates, but at last, when she had taken refuge in the sanctuary, she was outraged by him near the image of Artemis. When the crime came to be generally known, the Arcadians stoned the culprit, and also changed the rule for the future; as priestess of Artemis they now appoint, not a virgin, but a woman who has had enough of intercourse with men. This man had a son Hicetas, and Hicetas had a son Aristociates the second, named after his grandfather and also meeting with a death like his. For he too was stoned by the Arcadians, who discovered that he had received bribes from Lacedaemon, and that the Messenian disaster at the Great Ditch was caused by the treachery of Aristocrates. This sin explains why the kingship was taken from the whole house of Cypselus.

VI. I spent much care upon the history of the Arcadian kings, and the genealogy as given above was told me by the Arcadians themselves. Of their memorable achievements the oldest is the Trojan war, then comes the help they gave the Messenians in their struggle against Lacedaemon, and they also took part in the action at Plataea against the Per- 479 B.C. sians. It was compulsion rather than sympathy that made them join the Lacedaemonians in their war



- ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου διέβησαν, καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ ἐς Λεύκτρα αὐτοῖς τὰ Βοιωτικὰ ἡκολού-  
 θησαν. τὸ δὲ ὑποπτον τὸ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμο-  
 νίους ἀλλαχοῦ τε ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ μετὰ τὸ  
 ἀτύχημα Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις παρὰ  
 Θηβαίους αὐτίκα ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστησαν  
 Φιλίππῳ δὲ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ καὶ  
 ὕστερον ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον οὐκ  
 ἐμαχέσαντο μετὰ Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς  
 3 Ἑλλησιν ἐναντία ἐτάξαντο. πρὸς Γαλάτας δὲ  
 τοῦ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις κινδύνου φασὶ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων ἔνεκα οὐ μετασχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ σφισιν οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακουργοῖεν τὴν γῆν ἀπόντων  
 τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· συνεδρίου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν  
 μετέσχον οἱ Ἀρκάδες προθυμότατα Ἑλλήνων.  
 ὅποσα δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐχὶ ἐν κοινῷ, κατὰ πόλεις δὲ  
 ἰδίᾳ συμβεβηκότα εὑρισκον, ἀποθησόμεθα αὐτῶν  
 ἕκαστον ἐς τὸ οἰκεῖον τοῦ λόγου.
- 4 Εἰσὶν οὖν ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν ἐσβολαὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἀργείαν πρὸς μὲν Ὑσιῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄρος τὸ  
 Παρθένιον ἐς τὴν Τεγεατικὴν, δύο δὲ ἄλλαι κατὰ  
 Μαντίνειαν διὰ τε Πρίνου καλουμένης καὶ διὰ  
 Κλίμακος. αὕτη δὲ εὐρυτέρα τέ ἐστι καὶ ἡ  
 κάθοδος εἶχεν αὕτη βασμίδας ποτὲ ἐμπεπονη-  
 μένας· ὑπερβαλόντων δὲ τὴν Κλίμακα χωρίου  
 ἐστὶν ὀνομαζόμενον Μελαγγεῖα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 αὐτόθεν τὸ πότιμον Μαντινεῦσι κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν  
 5 πόλιν. προελθόντι δὲ ἐκ τῶν Μελαγγείων,  
 ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως στάδια ὡς ἑπτὰ ἐστι  
 κρήνη καλουμένη Μελιαστῶν· οἱ Μελιασταὶ δὲ  
 οὗτοι δρῶσι τὰ ὄργια τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ Διονύ-  
 σου τε μέγαρον πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης

against Athens and in crossing over to Asia with <sup>396 B</sup> Agesilaus, they also followed the Lacedaemonians to Leuctia in Boeotia. Then distrust of the <sup>371 B</sup> Lacedaemonians was shown on many occasions, in particular, immediately after the Lacedaemonian reverse at Leuctra they seceded from them and joined the Thebans. Though they did not fight on the Greek side against Philip and the Macedonians <sup>338 B</sup> at Chaeroneia, nor later in Thessaly against Antipater, yet they did not actually range themselves against the Greeks. It was because of the Lacedaemonians, they say, that they took no part in resisting the Gallic threat to Thermopylae, they feared that their land would be laid waste in the absence of their men of military age. As members of the Achaean League the Arcadians were more enthusiastic than any other Greeks. The fortunes of each individual city, as distinct from those of the Arcadian people as a whole, I shall reserve for their proper place in my narrative.

There is a pass into Arcadia on the Argive side in the direction of Hysiae and over Mount Parthenius into Tegean territory. There are two others on the side of Mantinea, one through what is called Prinus and one through the Ladder. The latter is the broader, and its descent had steps that were once cut into it. Crossing the Ladder you come to a place called Melangeia, from which the drinking water of the Mantineans flows down to their city. Farther off from Melangeia, about seven stades distant from Mantinea, there is a well called the Well of the Meliasts. These Meliasts celebrate the orgies of Dionysus. Near the well is a hall of

ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Μελαινίδος. ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ ἡ θεὸς ταύτην κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἔσχευεν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἀνθρώπων μὴ τὰ πάντα αἱ μίξεις ὥσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσι μεθ' ἡμέραν, τὰ πλείω δὲ εἰσιν ἐν νυκτί.  
 6 ἡ δὲ ὑπολειπομένη τῶν ὁδῶν στενωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς προτέρας καὶ ἄγει διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου. τούτου δὲ ἐπεμνήσθην καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς ἔχοι μὲν ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀρτέμιδος, ἔχοι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἰνάχου τὰς πηγάς. ὁ δὲ Ἰναχος ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν πρόεισι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ὄρους, τοῦτό ἐστιν Ἀργείοις καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος τῆς χώρας· ἀποστρέψας δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου κάτεισι, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν Ἰναχὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Αἰσχύλος ποταμὸν καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖον.

VII. Ὑπερβαλόντα δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν διὰ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου πεδίου ἐκδέξεται σε Ἀργὸν καλούμενον, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἔστι· τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ κατερχόμενον ἐς αὐτὸ ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν Ἀργὸν εἶναι τὸ πεδίου ποιεῖ, ἐκώλυέ τε οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ πεδίου τοῦτο εἶναι λίμνην, εἰ μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 2 ἠφανίζετο ἐς χάσμα γῆς. ἀφανισθὲν δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἄνεισι κατὰ τὴν Δίνην· ἔστι δὲ ἡ Δίνη κατὰ τὸ Γενέθλιον καλούμενον τῆς Ἀργολίδος, ὕδωρ γλυκὺ ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀνερχόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ καθίεσαν ἐς τὴν Δίνην τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἵππους οἱ Ἀργεῖοι κεκοσμημένους χαλινοῖς. γλυκὺ δὲ ὕδωρ ἐν θαλάσῃ δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθά τε ἀνιόν ἐν τῇ Ἀργολίδι καὶ ἐν τῇ Θεσπρωτίδι κατὰ τὸ  
 3 Χειμέριον καλούμενον. θαύματος δὲ ἔτι πλεονός ἐστιν ἐν Μαιάνδρῳ ζέον ὕδωρ, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πέτρας, περιέχοντος τοῦ ρεύματος τὴν πέτραν, τὸ δὲ καὶ

Dionysus and a sanctuary of Black Aphrodite This surname of the goddess is simply due to the fact that men do not, as the beasts do, have sexual intercourse always by day, but in most cases by night The second road is less broad than the other, and leads over Mount Artemisius I have already made mention of this mountain,<sup>1</sup> noting that on it are a temple and image of Artemis, and also the springs of the Inachus. The river Inachus, so long as it flows by the road across the mountain, is the boundary between the territory of Argos and that of Mantinea But when it turns away from the road the stream flows through Argolis from this point on, and for this reason Aeschylus among others calls the Inachus an Argive river

VII. After crossing into Mantinean country over Mount Artemisius you will come to a plain called the Untilled Plain, whose name well describes it, for the rain-water coming down into it from the mountains prevents the plain from being tilled, nothing indeed could prevent it from being a lake, were it not that the water disappears into a chasm in the earth After disappearing here it rises again at Dine (*Whirlpool*) Dine is a stream of fresh water rising out of the sea by what is called Genethlum in Argolis In olden times the Argives cast horses adorned with bridles down into Dine as an offering to Poseidon Not only here in Argolis, but also by Cheimerrum in Thesprotis, is there unmistakably fresh water rising up in the sea. A greater marvel still is the water that boils in the Maeander, which comes partly from a rock surrounded by the stream,

<sup>1</sup> See Book II. xxv 3.

ἐκ τῆς ἰλῦος ἄνεισι τοῦ ποταμοῦ. πρὸ Δικαιαρχίας δὲ τῆς Τυρσηνῶν ὕδωρ τε ἐν θαλάσῃ ζέον καὶ νῆσος δι' αὐτό ἐστι χειροποίητος, ὡς μηδὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὕδωρ ἀργὸν εἶναι<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ σφισι λουτρὰ θερμά.

- 4 Τοῦ δὲ Ἀργοῦ καλουμένου πεδίου Μαντινεῦσιν ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, σκηνῆς τε Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου καὶ κώμης ἐρείπια ἔχον Νεστάνης· πρὸς ταύτῃ γὰρ στρατοπεδεύσασθαι τῇ Νεστάνῃ Φίλιππον λέγουσι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν αὐτόθι ὀνομάζουσιν ἔτι ἀπὸ ἐκείνου Φιλίππιον. ἀφίκετο δὲ ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν Φίλιππος οἰκειωσόμενός τε Ἀρκάδας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ σφᾶς τοῦ  
5 ἄλλου διαστήσων. Φίλιππον δὲ βασιλέων μὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅσοι Μακεδόσι γεγόνασιν ὕστερον, τούτων μὲν πείθοιτο ἂν τις μέγιστα αὐτὸν ἔργα ἐπιδείξασθαι· στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἂν τις φρονῶν ὀρθὰ καλέσειεν αὐτόν, ὅς γε καὶ ὄρκους θεῶν κατεπάτησεν αἰεὶ καὶ σπονδὰς ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐψεύσατο πίστιν τε ἡτίμασε μάλιστα  
6 ἀνθρώπων. καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ μήνιμα ἀπήντησεν οὐκ ὀψέ, πρῶτα δὲ ὦν ἴσμεν. Φίλιππος μὲν οὐ πρόσω βιώσας ἔξ τε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἑτῶν τὸ μάντευμα ἐξετέλεσε τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν, ὃ δὴ χρωμένῳ οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πέρσου γενέσθαι λέγουσιν,

ἔστεπται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος, ἔχει τέλος, ἔστιν ὁ θύσων·

- τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐ μετὰ πολὺ ἐδήλωσεν οὐκ ἐς τὸν  
7 Μῆδον, ἀλλὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχον Φίλιππον· ἐπὶ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> εἶναι is not in the MSS

and partly rises from the mud of the river. In front of Dicaearchia also, in the land of the Etruscans, there is water boiling in the sea, and an artificial island has been made through it, so that this water is not "untilled,"<sup>1</sup> but serves for hot baths.

In the territory of the Mantineans on the left of the plain called Untilled is a mountain, on which are the ruins of a camp of Philip, the son of Amyntas, and of a village called Nestane. For it is said that by this Nestane Philip made an encampment, and the spring here they still call Philippium after the king. Philip came to Arcadia to bring over the Arcadians to his side, and to separate them from the rest of the Greek people. Philip may be supposed to have accomplished exploits greater than those of any Macedonian king who reigned either before or after. But nobody of sound mind would call him a good general, for no man has so sinned by continually trampling on oaths to heaven, and by breaking treaties and dishonouring his word on every occasion. The wrath of heaven was not late in visiting him; never in fact have we known it more speedy. When he was but forty-six years old, Philip fulfilled the oracle that it is said was given him when he inquired of Delphi about the Persians:—

The bull is crowned; the consummation is at hand, the sacrificer is ready.

Very soon afterwards events showed that this oracle pointed, not to the Persians, but to Philip himself.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "idle" or "useless." The allusion, of course, is to the Untilled Plain.

Φιλίππῳ τελευτήσαντι Φιλίππου παῖδα νήπιον, γεγονότα δὲ ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας ἀδελφιδῆς Ἀττάλου, τοῦτον τὸν παῖδα ὁμοῦ τῇ μητρὶ Ὀλυμπιάς ἐπὶ σκεύους χαλκοῦ πυρὸς ὑποβεβλημένου διέφθειρεν ἔλκουσα· χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Ἀριδαῖον ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ Κασσάνδρου κακῶς ἐξαμήσειν· Κασσάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης γεγῶνασι τῆς Φιλίππου, Θεσσαλονίκη δὲ ἦσαν καὶ Ἀριδαίῳ μητέρες Θεσσαλαί. τὰ δὲ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν  
8 ὁμοίως δῆλὰ ἐστίν.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐς Γλαῦκον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἐποιήσατο ὁ Φίλιππος λόγον καὶ τὸ ἔπος ἐφ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἔργων ἀνεμίμνησκεν αὐτόν,

ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀρείων,  
οὐκ ἂν οὕτω δίχα λόγον δοκεῖ μοι θεῶν τις Ἀλεξάνδρου τε ὁμοῦ τὸν βίον καὶ ἀκμὴν τὴν Μακεδόνων σβέσαι.

VIII. Τόδε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ἐπεισόδιον τῷ λόγῳ· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς Νεστάνης ἱερὸν Δήμητρος ἐστίν ἅγιον, καὶ αὐτῇ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἄγουσιν οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν Νεστάνην ὑπόκειται μάλιστα \* \*,<sup>2</sup> μοῖρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Ἀργοῦ, χορὸς δὲ ὀνομάζεται Μαιρᾶς τοῦ πεδίου δὲ ἐστίν ἡ διέξοδος τοῦ Ἀργοῦ σταδίων δέκα. ὑπερβὰς δὲ οὐ πολὺ ἐς ἕτερον καταβήσῃ πεδίου· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὰ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐστίν  
2 Ἄρνη καλουμένη κρήνη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιάδε ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> After ἐστίν the MSS have Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατος—a fairly obvious gloss

<sup>2</sup> The subject of ὑπόκειται seems to have fallen out

On the death of Philip, his infant son by Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, was along with his mother dragged by Olympias on to a bronze vessel and burned to death. Afterwards Olympias killed Aridaeus also. It turned out that the god intended to mow down to destruction the family of Cassander as well. Cassander's sons were by Thessalonice, the daughter of Philip, and both Thessalonice and Aridaeus had Thessalian women for their mothers. The fate of Alexander is familiar to everybody alike. But if Philip had taken to heart the fate of the Spartan Glaucus,<sup>1</sup> and at each of his acts had bethought himself of the veise — <sup>2</sup>

If a man keeps his oath his family prospers  
hereafter,

then, I believe, some god would not have extinguished so relentlessly the life of Alexander and, at the same time, the Macedonian supremacy

VIII So much by way of a digression. After the ruins of Nestane is a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and every year the Mantineans hold a festival in her honour. By Nestane there lies, on lower ground, about . . . itself too forming part of the Untilled Plain, and it is called the Dancing Floor of Maera. The road across the Untilled Plain is about ten stades. After crossing it you will descend, a little farther on, into another plain. On it, alongside the highway, is a well called Lamb. The following

<sup>1</sup> See Herodotus vi. 86

<sup>2</sup> See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 285



- Ἀρκάδων, Ῥέα ἡνίκα Ποσειδῶνα ἔτεκε, τὸν μὲν ἐς ποίμνην καταθέσθαι δίαίταν ἐνταῦθα ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν ἀρνῶν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τὴν πηγὴν, ὅτι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐποιμαίνοντο οἱ ἄρνες· φάναι δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Κρόνον τεκεῖν ἵππον καὶ οἱ πῶλον ἵππου καταπιεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δοῦναι, καθὰ καὶ ὕστερον ἀντὶ τοῦ Διὸς λίθον
- 3 ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατειλημένον σπαρῖγάνοις. τούτοις Ἑλλήνων ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις ἀρχόμενος μὲν τῆς συγγραφῆς εὐηθίας ἔνεμον πλέον, ἐς δὲ τὰ Ἀρκάδων προεληλυθὼς πρόνοιαν περὶ αὐτῶν τοιάνδε ἐλάμβανον· Ἑλλήνων τοὺς νομιζομένους σοφοὺς δι' αἰνιγμάτων πάλαι καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως λέγειν τοὺς λόγους, καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα οὖν ἐς τὸν Κρόνον σοφίαν εἶναι τινα εἰκαζον Ἑλλήνων. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἡκόντων τοῖς
- 4 εἰρημένοις χρησόμεθα· Μαντινέων δὲ ἡ πόλις σταδίους μάλιστά που δώδεκά ἐστιν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πηγῆς ταύτης. Μαντινεὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ Λυκάονος ἐτέρωθι φαίνεται οἰκίσας τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Πτόλιν<sup>1</sup> οἱ Ἀρκάδες· ἐκείθεν δὲ Ἀντινόη Κηφέως τοῦ Ἀλέου θυγάτηρ κατὰ μάντευμα ἀναστήσασα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡγαγεν ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὅφιν—ὁποῖον, οὐ μνημονεύουσιν—ἡγεμόνα ποιησαμένη τῆς ὁδοῦ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέων τὴν νῦν
- 5 ποταμὸς Ὀφίς ὄνομα ἔσχηκεν. εἰ δὲ Ὀμήρου χρὴ τεκμαιρόμενον τοῖς ἔπεσι συμβαλέσθαι γνώμην, τὸν ὅφιν τοῦτον δράκοντα εἶναι πείθομαι. περὶ Φιλοκτῆτου μὲν ἐν νεῶν καταλόγῳ ποιήσας ὥς ἀπολίποιεν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν Λήμνῳ τάλαιπωροῦντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔλκου, ἐπὶ κλησιν οὐκ

story is told by the Arcadians. When Rhea had given birth to Poseidon, she laid him in a flock for him to live there with the lambs, and the spring too received its name just because the lambs pastured around it. Rhea, it is said, declared to Cronus that she had given birth to a horse, and gave him a foal to swallow instead of the child, just as later she gave him in place of Zeus a stone wrapped up in swaddling clothes. When I began to write my history I was inclined to count these legends as foolishness, but on getting as far as Arcadia I grew to hold a more thoughtful view of them, which is this. In the days of old those Greeks who were considered wise spoke their sayings not straight out but in riddles, and so the legends about Cronus I conjectured to be one sort of Greek wisdom. In matters of divinity, therefore, I shall adopt the received tradition. The city of the Mantineans is about twelve stades farther away from this spring. Now there are plain indications that it was in another place that Mantineus the son of Lycaon founded his city, which even to-day is called Ptohis (*City*) by the Arcadians. From here, in obedience to an oracle, Antinoe, the daughter of Cepheus, the son of Aleus, removed the inhabitants to the modern site, accepting as a guide for the pilgrimage a snake; the breed of snake is not recorded. It is for this reason that the river, which flows by the modern city, has received the name Ophis (*Snake*). If we may base a conjecture on the verses of Homer, we are led to believe that this snake was a dragon. When in the list of ships he tells how the Greeks abandoned Philoctetes in Lemnos suffering from his wound,

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<sup>1</sup> Πτόλις is not in the MSS.

ἔθετο ὄφιν τῷ ὕδρῳ· τὸν δράκοντα δέ, ὃν ἐς τοὺς Τρῶας ἀφῆκεν ὁ αἰετός, ἐκάλεσεν ὄφιν. οὕτω τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχει καὶ τῇ Ἀντινόῃ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γενέσθαι δράκοντα.

- 6 Μαντινεῖς δὲ μάχην μὲν τὴν ἐν Διπαιεῦσιν οὐκ ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἀρκάδων τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πελοποννησίῳ καὶ Ἀθηναίων πολέμῳ συνέστησαν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ Ἡλείῳ, καὶ παραγενομένου συμβαχικοῦ σφισιν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων Λακεδαιμονίων ἐναντία ἐμαχέσαντο· μετέσχον δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἐς
- 7 Σικελίαν στόλου κατὰ Ἀθηναίων φιλίαν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιὰ καὶ Ἀγησίπολις ὁ Πausανίου βασιλεὺς ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν. ὥς δὲ ἐκράτησεν ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος κατέκλεισε τοὺς Μαντινεάς, εἶλεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τὴν πόλιν, οὐ πολιορκία κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρόν, τὸν δὲ Ὀφιν ποταμὸν ἀποστρέψας σφίσιν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ὠμῆς ὠκοδομημένον τῆς
- 8 πλίνθου. ἐς μὲν δὴ μηχανημάτων ἐμβολὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἢ πλίνθος παρέχεται μᾶλλον ἢ ὅποσα λίθου πεποιημένα ἐστίν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κατάγνυνταί τε καὶ ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν, ἢ δὲ πλίνθος ἐκ μηχανημάτων μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως πονεῖ, διαλύεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡλίου
- 9 κηρός. τοῦτο οὐκ Ἀγησίπολις τὸ στρατήγημα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Μαντινέων ἐστὶν ὁ συνείς, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἔτι Κίμωνι ἐξευρέθη τῷ Μιλτιάδου Βόγην πολιορκοῦντι ἄνδρα Μῆδον καὶ ὅσοι Περσῶν Ἡϊόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι εἶχον· Ἀγησίπολις δὲ καθεστηκὸς καὶ ἀδόμενον ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἐμιμήσατο. ὥς δὲ εἶλε τὴν Μαντινείαν, ὀλίγον

he does not style the water-serpent a snake. But the dragon that the eagle dropped among the Trojans he does call a snake. So it is likely that Antinoë's guide also was a dragon <sup>1</sup>

The Mantineans did not fight on the side of the other Arcadians against the Lacedaemonians at Dipaea, but in the Peloponnesian war they rose with the Eleans against the Lacedaemonians, and joined <sup>418</sup> in battle with them after the arrival of reinforcements from Athens. Their friendship with the Athenians led them to take part also in the Sicilian expedition. Later on a Lacedaemonian army under <sup>385</sup> Agesipolis, the son of Pausanias, invaded their territory. Agesipolis was victorious in the battle and shut up the Mantineans within their walls, capturing the city shortly after. He did not take it by storm, but turned the river Ophis against its fortifications, which were made of unbaked brick. Now against the blows of engines brick brings greater security than fortifications built of stone. For stones break and are dislodged from their fittings; brick, however, does not suffer so much from engines, but it crumbles under the action of water just as wax is melted by the sun. This method of demolishing the fortifications of the Mantineans was not discovered by Agesipolis. It was a stratagem invented at an earlier date by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, when he was besieging Boges and the other Persians <sup>476</sup> who were holding Eion on the Strymon. <sup>477</sup> Agesipolis only copied an established custom, and one celebrated among the Greeks. After taking Mantinea,

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, *Iliad*, II. 723 and XII. 203 and 208

- μέν τι κατέλιπεν οἰκείσθαι, τὸ πλεῖστον δὲ ἐς  
 ἔδαφος καταβαλὼν αὐτῆς κατὰ κώμας τοὺς  
 10 ἀνθρώπους διώκισε. Μαντινέας δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
 κωμῶν κατάξειν ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ἔμελλον Θηβαῖοι  
 μετὰ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἐν Λεύκτροις. κατελθόντες δὲ  
 οὐ τὰ πάντα ἐγένοντο δίκαιοι· περιληφθέντες δὲ  
 ἐπικηρυκεύμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ εἰρήνην ἰδίᾳ  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ Ἀρκάδων κοινοῦ πράσ-  
 σουτες, οὕτω διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐς τὴν  
 Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν μετεβάλλοντο ἐκ τοῦ  
 φανεροῦ, καὶ τῆς Μαντινικῆς πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν  
 καὶ Θηβαίους μάχης Λακεδαιμονίων γινομένης  
 ὁμοῦ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐτάξαντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς.  
 11 τούτων δὲ ὕστερον διαφορὰ ἐγένετο Μαντινεῦσιν  
 ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν μετέστη-  
 σαν ἐς τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν· καὶ Ἄγιν τὸν Εὐδαμίδου  
 βασιλεύοντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ νικῶσιν ἀμύνοντες τῇ  
 σφετέρᾳ, νικῶσι δὲ προσλαβόντες Ἀχαιῶν στρα-  
 τιὰν καὶ Ἄρατον ἡγεμόνα ἐπ' αὐτῇ. μετέσχον  
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κλεομένην τοῦ ἔργου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς  
 καὶ συγκαθεῖλον Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ἰσχύν.  
 Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ Φίλιππον τὸν Περ-  
 σέως πατέρα ἔτι παῖδα ἐπιτροπεύοντος καὶ  
 Ἀχαιοῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντος ἐπιτηδείου, ἄλλα  
 τε ἐς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ Μαντινεῦσιν ἐποιήθη καὶ ὄνομα  
 12 τῇ πόλει μετέθεντο Ἀντιγόνειαν χρόνῳ δὲ  
 ὕστερον Αὐγούστου πρὸς τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου ναυμαχήσειν μέλλοντος  
 Μαντινεῖς ἐμαχέσαντο ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ δὲ  
 ἄλλο Ἀρκαδικὸν συνετάχθησαν Ἀντωνίῳ, κατ'  
 ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ ἐφρόνουν οἱ  
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ Αὐγούστου. δέκα δὲ ὕστερον

he left a small part of it inhabited, but by far the greater part he razed to the ground, settling the inhabitants in villages. Fate decreed that the Thebans should restore the Mantineans from the villages to their own country after the engagement at Leuctra, but when restored they proved far from grateful. They were caught treating with the Lacedaemonians, and intriguing for a peace with them privately without reference to the rest of the Arcadian people. So through their fear of the Thebans they openly changed sides and joined the Lacedaemonian confederacy, and when the battle took place at Mantinea between the Lacedaemonians and the Thebans under Epaminondas, the Mantineans joined the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. Subsequently the Mantineans quarrelled with the Lacedaemonians, and seceded from them to the Achaean League. They defeated Agis, the son of Eudamidas, king of Sparta, in defence of their own country, with the help of an Achaean army under the leadership of Aratus. They also joined the Achaeans in their struggle against Cleomenes and helped to destroy the Lacedaemonian power. Antigonus of Macedonia, who was guardian of Philip, the father of Perseus, before he came of age, was an ardent supporter of the Achaeans, and so the Mantineans, among other honours, changed the name of their city to Antigoneia. Afterwards, when Augustus was about to fight the naval engagement off the cape of Actian Apollo, the Mantineans fought on the side of the Romans, while the rest of Arcadia joined the ranks of Antonius, for no other reason, so it seems to me, except that the Lacedaemonians favoured the cause of Augustus. Ten

γενεαῖς ἐβασίλευσέ τε Ἀδριανὸς καὶ ἀφελὼν  
Μαντινεῦσι τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπακτὸν  
ἀπέδωκεν αὐθις Μαντίνειαν καλεῖσθαι σφισι τὴν  
πόλιν.

IX. "Ἔστι δὲ Μαντινεῦσι ναὸς διπλοῦς μάλιστά  
που κατὰ μέσον τοίχῳ διειργόμενος· τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ  
τῇ μὲν ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τέχνη Ἀλκα-  
μένους, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Λητοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν  
παίδων· Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα εἰργάσατο  
τρίτῃ μετὰ Ἀλκαμένην ὕστερον γενεᾷ. τούτων  
πεποιημένα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ Μοῦσαι καὶ  
Μαρσύας αὐλῶν. ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ ἐπείργασται  
2 στήλῃ Πολύβιος ὁ Λυκόρτα καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐπι-  
μνησθησόμεθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα, Μαντινεῦσι δὲ  
ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτήρος Διός, τὸ δὲ  
Ἐπιδώτου καλουμένου· ἐπιδιδόναί γάρ δὴ ἀγαθὰ  
αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ  
ἐτέρῳθι Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱερὸν· πῦρ δὲ ἐνταῦθα  
καίουσι, ποιούμενοι φροντίδα μὴ λάθῃ σφίσιν  
ἀποσβεσθέν. καὶ Ἦρας πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ ναὸν  
3 ἔθεασάμην· Πραξιτέλης δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα αὐτὴν  
τε καθημένην ἐν θρόνῳ καὶ παρεστώσας ἐποίησεν  
Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἥβην παῖδα Ἦρας. πρὸς δὲ τῆς  
Ἦρας τῷ βωμῷ καὶ Ἀρκάδος τάφος τοῦ Καλλισ-  
τοῦς ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ ὅστ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρκάδος ἐπηγάγοντο ἐκ  
Μαινάλου, χρησμοῦ σφισιν ἐλθόντος ἐκ Δελφῶν·

4 ἔστι δὲ Μαιναλίη δυσχείμερος, ἔνθα τε κεῖται  
Ἀρκάς, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ πάντες ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέονται,  
οὗ τρίδος καὶ τετράδος καὶ πεντακέλευθος.  
ἔνθα σ' ἐγὼ κέλομαι στείχειν καὶ εὐφρόνι θυμῷ  
Ἀρκάδ' αἰραμένους κατὰ γαίην εἰς ἄστυ ἐραννόν·  
ἔνθα τε δὴ τέμενός τε θυηλάς τ' Ἀρκάδι τεύχειν.

generations afterwards, when Hadrian became Emperor, he took away from the Mantineans the name imported from Macedonia, and gave back to their city its old name of Mantinea.

IX. The Mantineans possess a temple composed of two parts, being divided almost exactly at the middle by a wall. In one part of the temple is an image of Asclepius, made by Alcamenes; the other part is a sanctuary of Leto and her children, and their images were made by Praxiteles two generations after Alcamenes. On the pedestal of these are figures of Muses together with Maenias playing the flute. Here there is a figure of Polybius, the son of Lycortas, carved in relief upon a slab, of whom I shall make fuller mention later on.<sup>1</sup> The Mantineans have other sanctuaries also, one of Zeus Saviour, and one of Zeus Giver of Gifts, in that he gives good things to men. There is also a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, and in another place one of Demeter and the Maid. Here they keep a fire, taking anxious care not to let it go out. Near the theatre I saw a temple of Hera. Praxiteles made the images; Hera is sitting, while Athena and Hera's daughter Hebe are standing by her side. Near the altar of Hera is the grave of Arcas, the son of Callisto. The bones of Arcas they brought from Maenalus, in obedience to an oracle delivered to them from Delphi:—

Maenalia is storm-swept, where lies  
Arcas, from whom all Arcadians are named,  
In a place where meet three, four, even five roads;  
Thither I bid you go, and with kind heart  
Take up Arcas and bring him back to your lovely  
city.

There make Arcas a precinct and sacrifices.

<sup>1</sup> See chapters xxx-xlviii. of this Book.



- τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἔνθα ὁ τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ  
 5 Ἀρκάδος, καλοῦσιν Ἡλίου βωμούς. τοῦ θεά-  
 τρου δὲ οὐ πόρρω μνήματα προήκοντά ἐστιν ἐς  
 δόξαν, τὸ μὲν Ἑστία καλουμένη κοινή, περιφερὲς  
 σχῆμα ἔχουσα. Ἀντινόην δὲ αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο  
 κείσθαι τὴν Κηφέως· τῷ δὲ στήλῃ τε ἐφέστηκε  
 καὶ ἀνὴρ ἱππεὺς ἐπειργασμένος ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 6 στήλῃ, Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφώντος. τοῦ θεάτρου δὲ  
 ὀπισθεν ναοῦ τε Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ κλησιν Συμμα-  
 χίας ἐρείπια καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐλείπετο· τὸ δὲ ἐπί-  
 γραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ τὴν ἀναθεῖσαν τὸ  
 ἄγαλμα ἐδήλου θυγατέρα εἶναι Πασέου Νικίππην.  
 τὸ δὲ ἱερόν κατεσκευάσαντο τοῦτο οἱ Μαντινεῖς  
 ὑπόμνημα ἐς τοὺς ἔπειτα τῆς ὁμοῦ Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐπ' Ἀκτίῳ ναυμαχίας. σέβουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖν  
 Ἀλέαν, καὶ ἱερόν τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶν  
 7 Ἀλέας αὐτοῖς. ἐνομίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀντίνοους σφίσι  
 εἶναι θεός· ναῶν δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ νεώτατός ἐστιν  
 ὁ τοῦ Ἀντίνου ναός. οὗτος ἐσπουδάσθη περισσῶς  
 δὴ τι ὑπὸ βασιλέως Ἀδριανοῦ· ἐγὼ δὲ μετ'  
 ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔτι αὐτὸν ὄντα οὐκ εἶδον, ἐν δὲ  
 ἀγάλμασιν εἶδον καὶ ἐν γραφαῖς. ἔχει μὲν δὴ  
 γέρα καὶ ἐτέρωθι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Νείλῳ πόλιν  
 Αἰγυπτίων ἐστὶν ἐπώνυμος Ἀντίνου· τιμὰς δὲ  
 ἐν Μαντινείᾳ κατὰ τοιόνδε ἔσχηκε. γένος ἦν ὁ  
 Ἀντίνοους ἐκ Βιθυνίου τῆς ὑπὲρ Σαγγαρίου ποτα-  
 8 μοῦ· οἱ δὲ Βιθυνιεῖς Ἀρκάδες τέ εἰσι καὶ Μαντι-  
 νεῖς τὰ ἄνωθεν. τούτων ἕνεκα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατε-  
 στήσατο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τιμὰς, καὶ  
 τελετή τε κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον καὶ ἀγὼν ἐστὶν  
 αὐτῷ διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου. οἶκος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ  
 γυμνασίῳ Μαντινεῦσιν ἀγάλματα ἔχων Ἀντίνου

This place, where the grave of Arcas is, they call Altars of the Sun. Not far from the theatre are famous tombs, one called Common Hearth, round in shape, where, they told me, lies Antioe, the daughter of Cepheus. On it stands a slab, on which is carved in relief a horseman, Grylus, the son of Xenophon. Behind the theatre I found the remains, with an image, of a temple of Aphrodite surnamed Ally. The inscription on the pedestal announced that the image was dedicated by Nicippe, the daughter of Paseas. This sanctuary was made by the Mantineans to remind posterity of their fighting on the side of the Romans at the battle of Actium. They also worship Athena Alea, of whom they have a sanctuary and an image. Antinous too was deified by them; his temple is the newest in Mantinea. He was a great favourite of the Emperor Hadrian. I never saw him in the flesh, but I have seen images and pictures of him. He has honours in other places also, and on the Nile is an Egyptian city named after Antinous. He has won worship in Mantinea for the following reason. Antinous was by birth from Bithynium beyond the river Sangarius, and the Bithynians are by descent Arcadians of Mantinea. For this reason the Emperor established his worship in Mantinea also; mystic rites are celebrated in his honour each year, and games every four years. There is a building in the gymnasium of Mantinea containing statues of Antinous, and remarkable for the

καὶ ἐς τᾶλλα θέας ἄξιος λίθων ἔνεκα οἷς κεκόσμηται καὶ ἀπιδόντι ἐς τὰς γραφάς· αἱ δὲ Ἀντίνου εἰσὶν αἱ πολλαί, Διονύσῳ μάλιστα εἰκασμένοι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῇ γραφῆς, ἣ τὸ ἔργον εἶχε τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν Μαντινείᾳ, καὶ ταύτης  
 9 αὐτόθι ἐστὶ μίμημα. Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυναικός τε εἰκὼν χαλκῇ—καὶ Μαντινεῖς καλοῦσι Διομένειαν Ἀρκάδος—καὶ ἡρώδην ἔστι Ποδάρου· φασὶ δὲ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἐπαμινώνδαν καὶ Θηβαίους μάχῃ. γενεαῖς δὲ τρισὶν ἐμοῦ πρότερον μετέθεσαν τοῦ τάφου τὸ ἐπίγραμμα ἐς ἄνδρα ἀπόγονον μὲν ἐκείνου Ποδάρου καὶ ὁμώνυμον, γεγονότα δὲ καθ' ἡλικίαν ὡς πολιτείας ἤδη  
 10 Ῥωμαίων μετεिल्φέναι. Ποδάρην δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐτίμων οἱ Μαντινεῖς, λέγοντες ὡς ἄριστος μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γένοιτο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Γρύλος ὁ Ξενοφώντος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Γρύλῳ Κηφισόδωρος Μαραθώνιος, οὗτος δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀθηναίοις ἐτύγχανεν ἵππαρχῶν· τρίτα δὲ ἀνδραγαθίας Ποδάρην νέμουσιν.

X. Ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν δὲ τὴν ἄλλην εἰσὶν ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδοί· ὅποσα δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστης αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἦν θέας ἄξια, ἐπέξειμι καὶ ταῦτα. ἰόντι ἐς Τεγέαν ἐστὶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς λεωφόρου παρὰ τοῖς Μαντινέων τείχεσι χωρίον ἐς τῶν ἵππων τὸν δρόμον καὶ οὐ πόρρω τούτου στάδιον, ἔνθα ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντίνῳ τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέασιν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ σταδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ Ἀλήσιον, διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ὡς φασὶ καλούμενον τὴν Ῥέας, καὶ Δήμητρος  
 2 ἄλλος ἐν τῷ ὄρει. παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Ποσειδωνός ἐστι τοῦ Ἰππίου τὸ ἱερόν, οὐ πρόσω ἕξ σταδίων<sup>1</sup> Μαντινείας. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ

stones with which it is adorned, and especially so for its pictures. Most of them are portraits of Antinous, who is made to look just like Dionysus. There is also a copy here of the painting in the Cerameicus which represented the engagement of the Athenians at Mantinea. In the market-place is a bronze portrait-statue of a woman, said by the Mantineans to be Diomeneia, the daughter of Arcas, and a hero-shrine of Podares, who was killed, they say, in the battle with the Thebans under Epaminondas. Three generations ago they changed the inscription on the grave and made it apply to a descendant of this Podares with the same name, who was born late enough to have Roman citizenship. In my time the elder Podares was honoured by the Mantineans, who said that he who proved the bravest in the battle, of themselves and of their allies, was Grylus, the son of Xenophon; next to Grylus was Cephisodorus of Marathon, who at the time commanded the Athenian horse. The third place for valour they give to Podares.

X There are roads leading from Mantinea into the rest of Arcadia, and I will go on to describe the most noteworthy objects on each of them. On the left of the highway leading to Tegea there is, beside the walls of Mantinea, a place where horses race, and not far from it is a race-course, where they celebrate the games in honour of Antinous. Above the race-course is Mount Alesium, so called from the wandering (*ale*) of Rhea or which is a grove of Demeter. By the foot of the mountain is the sanctuary of Horse Poseidon, not more than six stades distant from Mantinea. About this sanctuary

<sup>1</sup> ἐξ (ς') σταδίων is Schaefer's emendation of the MS. reading σταδίου

ἱερὸν τοῦτο ἐγὼ τε ἀκοὴν γράφω καὶ ὅσοι  
 μνήμην ἄλλοι περὶ αὐτοῦ πεποιήνται. τὸ μὲν  
 δὴ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὠκοδομήσατο Ἀδριανὸς  
 βασιλεύς ἐπιστήσας τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις ἐπόπτας  
 ἄνδρας, ὡς μήτε ἐνίδοι τις ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἀρχαίου  
 μήτε τῶν ἐρειπίων τι αὐτοῦ μετακινοῖτο· πέριξ  
 δὲ ἐκέλευε τὸν ναὸν σφᾶς οἰκοδομεῖσθαι τὸν  
 καινόν. τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὸ ἱερὸν  
 τοῦτο Ἀγαμήδης λέγονται καὶ Τροφώνιος ποιῆσαι,  
 δρυῶν ξύλα ἐργασάμενοι καὶ ἀρμόσαντες πρὸς  
 3 ἄλληλα· ἐσόδου δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ εἵργοντες ἀνθρώπους  
 ἔρυμα μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἐσόδου προεβάλλοντο οὐδέν,  
 μίτον δὲ διατείνουσιν ἐρεοῦν, τάχα μὲν που τοῖς  
 τότε ἄγουσι τὰ θεῖα ἐν τιμῇ δεῖμα καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντες, τάχα δ' ἂν τι μετείη καὶ  
 ἰσχύος τῷ μίτῳ. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Αἴπυτος ὁ  
 Ἰππόθου μήτε πηδήσας ὑπὲρ τὸν μίτον μήτε  
 ὑποδύς, διακόψας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν·  
 καὶ ποιήσας οὐχ ὅσια ἐτυφλώθη τε ἐμπεσόντος  
 ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ τοῦ κύματος καὶ αὐτίκα  
 4 ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ χρεὼν αὐτόν. θαλάσσης δὲ  
 ἀναφαίνεσθαι κύμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λόγος ἐστὶν  
 ἀρχαῖος· εἰκότα δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσιν ἐς  
 τὸ κύμα τὸ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ Καρῶν οἱ Μύλασα  
 ἔχοντες ἐς τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἱερόν, ὃν φωνῇ τῇ ἐπιχωρία  
 καλοῦσιν Ὅσογῶα. Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ σταδίους  
 μάλιστα εἴκοσιν ἀφέστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς  
 Φαληρῷ θάλασσα, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῦσιν  
 ἐπίνειον σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα ἀπέχον ἐστὶν ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πόλεως· Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ἐκ μακροτάτων τε ἢ  
 θάλασσα ἄνεισι καὶ ἐκφανέστατα δὴ κατὰ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ γνώμην.

I, like everyone else who has mentioned it, can write only what I have heard. The modern sanctuary was built by the Emperor Hadrian, who set overseers over the workmen, so that nobody might look into the old sanctuary, and none of the ruins be removed. He ordered them to build around the new temple. Originally, they say, this sanctuary was built for Poseidon by Agamēdes and Trophonius,<sup>1</sup> who worked oak logs and fitted them together. They set up no barrier at the entrance to prevent men going inside, but they stretched across it a thread of wool. Perhaps they thought that even this would strike fear into the religious people of that time, and perhaps there was also some power in the thread. It is notorious that even Aepytus, the son of Hippothous, entered the sanctuary neither by jumping over the thread nor by slipping under it, but by cutting it through. For this sin he was blinded by a wave that dashed on to his eyes, and forthwith his life left him. There is an old legend that a wave of sea-water rises up in the sanctuary. A like story is told by the Athenians about the wave on the Acropolis, and by the Carians living in Mylasa about the sanctuary of the god called in the native tongue Osogoa. But the sea at Phalerum is about twenty stades distant from Athens, and the port of Mylasa is eighty stades from the city. But at Mantinea the sea rises after a very long distance, and quite plainly through the divine will.

<sup>1</sup> See IX. xi § 1 and IX. xxxvii § 4

- 5 Περὰν δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τρόπαιόν  
 ἐστὶ λίθου πεποιημένον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ  
 Ἄγιδος· λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς μάχης.  
 τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν εἶχον οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐτοί, στρατιάν  
 τε ἀπὸ πάσης ἡλικίας καὶ στρατηγὸν παρεχόμε-  
 νοι Ποδάρην ἀπόγονον τρίτον Ποδάρου τοῦ  
 Θηβαίοις ἐναντία ἀγωνισαμένου, παρῇν δὲ σφισι  
 καὶ μάντις Ἥλειος Θρασύβουλος Αἰνέου τῶν  
 Ἰαμιδῶν—οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ νίκην τε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι  
 προηγόρευσε καὶ αὐτὸς σφισι τοῦ ἔργου μετέ-  
 6 σχεν—ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ πᾶν τὸ ἄλλο Ἀρκα-  
 δικὸν ἐτάσσοντο, ἄρχοντες δὲ κατὰ πόλεις τε  
 ἦσαν καὶ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν Λυδιαδῆς καὶ Λεω-  
 κύδης· Ἀράτῳ δὲ ἐπετέτραπτο καὶ Σικυωνίοις τε  
 καὶ Ἀχαιοῖς τὸ μέσον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ  
 Ἄγεις ἐπεξέτειναν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥς τῶν ἐναντίων  
 τῷ στρατεύματι ἀντιπαρήκοιεν· τὸ μέσον δὲ  
 7 Ἄγεις καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα εἶχον. Ἄρατος  
 δὲ ἀπὸ συγκειμένου πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὑπέφευ-  
 γεν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατὸς οἷα δὴ  
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων· ὑποφεύ-  
 γοντες δὲ ἅμα τὸ σύνταγμα σφῶν ἡρέμα ἐποίου-  
 ντες μνηοειδές. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἄγεις νίκην τε  
 ἠλπιζον καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐνέκειντο  
 ἀθρόοι μᾶλλον· ἐπηκολούθουν δὲ σφισι καὶ οἱ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων, Ἄρατος καὶ τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ  
 στρατιὰν τρέψασθαι μέγα ἀγώνισμα ἡγούμενοι.  
 8 ἔλαθόν τε δὴ κατὰ νότον γενόμενοί σφισιν οἱ  
 Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κυκλωθέντες τῆς  
 τε ἄλλης στρατιᾶς τὸ πολὺ ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ

Beyond the sanctuary of Poseidon is a trophy made of stone commemorating the victory over the Lacedaemonians under Agis. The course of the battle was, it is said, after this wise. The right wing was held by the Mantineans themselves, who put into the field all of military age under the command of Podares, the grandson of the Podares who fought against the Thebans. They had with them also the Elean seer Thrasybulus, the son of Aeneas, one of the Iamids. This man foretold a victory for the Mantineans and took a personal part in the fighting. On the left wing was stationed all the rest of the Arcadian army, each city under its own leader, the contingent of Megalopolis being led by Lydiades and Leocydes. The centre was entrusted to Aratus, with the Sicyonians and the Achaeans. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, who with the royal staff officers were in the centre, extended their line so as to make it equal in length to that of their enemies. Aratus, acting on an arrangement with the Arcadians, fell back with his command, as though the pressure of the Lacedaemonians was too severe. As they gave way they gradually<sup>1</sup> made their formation crescent-shaped. The Lacedaemonians under Agis, thinking that victory was theirs, pressed in close order yet harder on Aratus and his men. They were followed by those on the wings, who thought it a great achievement to put to flight Aratus and his host. But the Arcadians got in their rear unperceived, and the Lacedaemonians were surrounded, losing the greater part of their army, while King Agis himself fell, the

<sup>1</sup> Or, taking *ἡρέμα* with *μηνοειδές*, "slightly crescent-shaped."



9 βασιλεὺς ἔπεσεν Ἄγισ Εὐδαμίδου. φανῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ἀμύνοντά σφισιν ἔφασαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ τοῦδε ἔνεκα τρόπαιον ἐποίησαντο ἀνάθημα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι. πολέμῳ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων φόνοις παρεῖναι θεοὺς ἐποίησαν μὲν ὅσοις τὰ ἡρώων ἐμέλησεν ἐν Ἰλίῳ παθήματα, ἄδεται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ὡς θεοὶ σφισιν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοῦ ἔργου μετὰσχοιεν· ἐκδηλότερα δὲ ὁ Γαλατῶν στρατὸς ἀπώλετο ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐναργῶς ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. οὕτω καὶ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ κράτος γενεσθαι σφίσι. Λεωκύδους δὲ τοῦ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ὁμοῦ Λυδιάδῃ στρατηγήσαντος πρόγονον ἕνατον Ἀρκεσίλαον οἰκοῦντα ἐν Λυκοσούρᾳ λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ὡς ἴδοι τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς καλουμένης Δεσποίνης ἔλαφον πεπονηκυῖαν ὑπὸ γήρως· τῇ δὲ ἐλάφῳ ταύτῃ ψάλιον τε εἶναι περὶ τὸν τράχηλον καὶ γράμματα ἐπὶ τῷ ψαλίῳ,

νεβρὸς ἐὼν ἑάλων, ὅτ' ἐς Ἴλιον ἦλθ' Ἄγαπήνωρ.

Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ἐπιδείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος ἔλαφον εἶναι πολλῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντος μακροβιώτερον θηρίον

XI. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος χωρίον ὑποδέξεται σε δρυῶν πλήρες, καλούμενον Πέλαγος, καὶ ἐκ Μαντινεΐας ἢ ἐς Τεγέαν ὁδὸς φέρει διὰ τῶν δρυῶν. Μαντινεῦσι δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Τεγεάτας εἰσὶν ὁ περιφερὴς ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ βωμός. εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐς ἀριστερὰν ἐκτραπῆναι θελήσειας, σταδίους τε ἥξεις μάλιστά που πέντε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Πελίου θυγατέρων ἀφίξῃ

son of Eudamidas The Mantineans affirmed that Poseidon too manifested himself in their defence, and for this reason they erected a trophy as an offering to Poseidon That gods were present at war and slaughter of men has been told by the poets who have treated of the sufferings of heroes at Troy, and the Athenians relate in song how gods sided with them at Marathon and at the battle of Salamis Very plainly the host of the Gauls was destroyed at Delphi by the god, and manifestly by demons So there is precedent for the story of the Mantineans that they won their victory by the aid of Poseidon Arcesilaus, an ancestor, ninth in descent, of Leocydes, who with Lydiades was general of the Megalopolitans, is said by the Arcadians to have seen, when dwelling in Lycosura, the sacred deer, enfeebled with age, of the goddess called Lady. This deer, they say, had a collar round its neck, with writing on the collar.—

I was a fawn when captured, at the time when Agapenor went to Troy.

This story proves that the deer is an animal much longer-lived even than the elephant.

XI. After the sanctuary of Poseidon you will come to a place full of oak trees, called Sea, and the road from Mantinea to Tegea leads through the oaks. The boundary between Mantinea and Tegea is the round altar on the high-road. If you will turn aside to the left from the sanctuary of Poseidon, you will reach, after going just about five stades, the graves of the

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<sup>1</sup> ᾗλθ' Kayser. ᾗν MSS.

- τοὺς τάφους· ταύτας φασὶν οἱ Μαντινεῖς μετοικῆσαι παρὰ σφᾶς, τὰ ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ
- 2 πατρὸς ὀνειδῆ φευγούσας ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἀφίκετο ἡ Μήδεια ἐς Ἴωλκόν, αὐτίκα ἐπεβούλευε τῷ Πελῖα, τῷ ἔργῳ μὲν συμπράσσουσα τῷ Ἰάσονι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ ἀπεχθανομένη. ἐπαγγέλλεται τοῦ Πελίου ταῖς θυγατράσιν ὥς τὸν πατέρα αὐταῖς, ἣν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀποφανοῖ νέον ἀντὶ γέροντος παλαιοῦ· κατασφάξασα δὲ ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ κριὸν τὰ κρέα ὁμοῦ φαρμάκοις ἐν λέβητι ἤψησεν, οἷς
- 3 ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος<sup>1</sup> ἄρνα ἐξήγαγε ζῶντα· παραλαμβάνει τε δὴ τὸν Πελίαν κατακόψασα ἐψῆσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκομίσαντο αἱ θυγατέρες οὐδὲ ἐς ταφὴν ἔτι ἐπιτήδειον. τοῦτο ἠνάγκασε τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς Ἀρκαδίαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ ἀποθανούσαις τὰ μνήματα ἐχώσθη σφίσιν αὐτοῦ· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ποιητῆς μὲν ἔθετο οὐδεῖς, ὅσα γε ἐπελεξάμεθα ἡμεῖς, Μίκων δὲ ὁ ζωγράφος Ἀστερόπειαν τε εἶναι καὶ Ἀντινόην ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν ἐπέγραψεν.
- 4 Χωρίον δὲ ὀνομαζόμενον Φοῖζων περὶ εἴκοσιν πού σταδίους τῶν τάφων ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τούτων· ὁ<sup>2</sup> δὲ Φοῖζων μνημᾶ ἐστὶ λίθου περιεχόμενον κρηπίδι, ἀνέχον δὲ οὐ πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς. κατὰ τοῦτο ἢ τε ὁδὸς μάλιστα στενὴ γίνεται καὶ τὸ μνημα Ἀρηιθίου λέγουσιν εἶναι, Κορυνήτου διὰ
- 5 τὸ ὄπλον ἐπονομασθέντος. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Παλλάντιον ἐκ Μαντινείας ἄγουσαν προελθόντι ὥς τριάκοντά πού σταδίους, παρήκει κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν λεωφόρον ὁ τοῦ Πελάγου καλουμένου δρυμός, καὶ τὰ ἵππικὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Μαντινέων ἐνταύθα ἐμαχέσαντο ἐναντία τῆς

daughters of Pelias These, the Mantineans say, came to live with them when they were fleeing from the scandal at their father's death. Now when Medea reached Iolcus, she immediately began to plot against Pelias, she was really conspiring with Jason, while pretending to be at variance with him. She promised the daughters of Pelias that, if they wished, she would restore his youth to their father, now a very old man. Having butchered in some way a ram, she boiled his flesh with drugs in a pot, by the aid of which she took out of the pot a live lamb. So she took Pelias and cut him up to boil him, but what the daughters received was not enough to bury. This result forced the women to change their home to Arcadia, and after their death mounds were made there for their tombs. No poet, so far as I have read, has given them names, but the painter Micon inscribed on their portraits Asteriopeia and Antinoe.

A place called Phoezon is about twenty stades distant from these graves. Phoezon is a tomb of stone surrounded with a basement, raised only a little above the ground. At this point the road becomes very narrow, and here, they say, is the tomb of Areithous, surnamed Corynetes (*Clubman*) because of his weapon. As you go along the road leading from Mantinea to Pallantium, at a distance of about thirty stades, the highway is skirted by the grove of what is called the Ocean, and here the cavalry of the Athenians and Man-

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<sup>1</sup> After λέβητος the MSS. have τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐψόμενον. The words were deleted by Porson.

<sup>2</sup> δ is not in the MSS

Βοιωτίας ἵππου. Ἐπαμινώνδαν δὲ ἀποθανεῖν  
 Μαντινεῖς μὲν ὑπὸ Μαχαιρίωνος Μαντινέως  
 φασὶν ἀνδρός· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 Σπαρτιάτην λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα  
 Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τίθενται δὲ Μαχαιρίωνα ὄνομα  
 6 καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ἀνδρί. ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἔχει λόγος  
 —ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θηβαῖοι—τρωθῆναι  
 τὸν Ἐπαμινώνδαν ὑπὸ Γρύλου· παραπλήσια δέ  
 σφισὶν ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἔργον  
 ἐχούσῃ τὸ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ  
 Μαντινεῖς Γρύλον μὲν δημοσίᾳ τε θάψαντες καὶ  
 ἔνθα ἔπεσεν ἀναθέντες εἰκόνα ἐπὶ στήλης ὡς  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου τῶν συμμάχων· Μαχαιρίωνα  
 δὲ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ<sup>2</sup> οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι  
 λέγουσιν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὔτε ἐν Σπάρτῃ Μαχαιρίων  
 ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παρὰ Μαντινεῦσιν,  
 7 ὅτῳ γεγόνασιν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ τιμαί. ὡς δὲ  
 ἐτέτρωτο ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας, ἐκκομίζουσιν ἔτι  
 ζῶντα ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν  
 τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῷ τραύματι ἐταλαιπώρει  
 καὶ ἐς τοὺς μαχομένους ἀφέωρα—ὁπόθεν δὲ  
 ἀπέβλεπεν ἐς αὐτούς, ὠνόμαζον Σκοπὴν οἱ  
 ἔπειτα—λαβόντος δὲ ἴσον τοῦ ἀγῶνος πέρας,  
 οὕτω τὴν χεῖρα ἀπέσχευ ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος·  
 καὶ αὐτὸν ἀφέντα τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθαψαν ἔνθα  
 8 σφίσιν ἐγένετο ἡ συμβολή. τῷ τάφῳ δὲ κίων  
 τε ἐφέστηκε καὶ ἀσπίς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δράκοντα ἔχουσα  
 ἐπειρασμένον· ὁ μὲν δὲ δράκων ἐθέλει σημαί-  
 νειν γένους τῶν Σπαρτῶν καλουμένων εἶναι τὸν  
 Ἐπαμινώνδαν, στήλαι δὲ εἰσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι,  
 ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἔχουσα Βοιωτίον,  
 τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν τε ἀνέθηκεν Ἀδριανὸς βασιλεὺς

tineans fought against the Boeotian horse Epaminondas, the Mantineans say, was killed by Machaerion, a man of Mantinea. The Lacedaemonians on their part say that a Spartan killed Epaminondas, but they too give Machaerion as the name of the man. The Athenian account, with which the Theban agrees, makes out that Epaminondas was wounded by Grylus. Similar is the story on the picture portraying the battle of Mantinea. All can see that the Mantineans gave Grylus a public funeral and dedicated where he fell his likeness on a slab in honour of the bravest of their allies. The Lacedaemonians also speak of Machaerion as the slayer, but actually at Sparta there is no Machaerion, nor is there at Mantinea, who has received honours for bravery. When Epaminondas was wounded, they carried him still living from the ranks. For a while he kept his hand to the wound in agony, with his gaze fixed on the combatants, the place from which he looked at them being called Scope (*Look*) by posterity. But when the combat came to an indecisive end, he took his hand away from the wound and died, being buried on the spot where the armies met. On the grave stands a pillar, and on it is a shield with a dragon in relief. The dragon means that Epaminondas belonged to the race of those called the Spartans, while there are slabs on the tomb, one old, with a Boeotian inscription, the other dedicated by the

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<sup>1</sup> τῆ is not in the MSS

<sup>2</sup> καὶ is not in the MSS.

- 9 καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῇ. τὸν δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδαν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι στρατηγίας ἔνεκα εὐδοκιμησάντων μάλιστα ἐπαινέσαι τις ἂν ἢ ὕστερόν γε οὐδενὸς ποιήσαιτο. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πόλεων τε ἀξίωμα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται φρονήματός τι ἦσαν ἔχοντες, Θηβαίους δὲ Ἐπαμινώνδας ἀθύμους τὰς γνώμας καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούειν εἰωθότας ἀπέφηνεν ἐν<sup>1</sup> οὐ πολλῷ πρωτεύοντας
- 10 Ἐγεγόνει δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμινώνδᾳ μαντεία πρότερον ἔτι ἐκ Δελφῶν πέλαγος αὐτὸν φυλάσσεσθαι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τριήρους τε μὴ ἐπιβῆναι μηδὲ ἐπὶ νεὼς φορτίδος πλεῦσαι δεῖμα εἶχε, τῷ δὲ ἄρα Πέλαγος δρυμὸν καὶ οὐ θάλασσαν προέλεγεν ὁ δαίμων. χωρία δὲ τὰ ὁμώνυμα καὶ Ἀννίβαν ὕστερον τὸν Καρχηδόνιον καὶ πρότερον ἔτι Ἀθηναίους
- 11 ἠπάτησεν. Ἀννίβα γὰρ χρησμὸς ἀφίκετο παρὰ Ἀμμωνος ὡς ἀποθανὼν γῇ καλυφθήσεται τῇ Λιβύσση. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἠλπιζεν ἀρχὴν τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων καθαιρήσειν καὶ οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπανελθὼν τελευτήσκειν γῆρα τὸν βίον. Φλαμινίου δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ποιουμένου σπουδὴν ἐλεῖν ζῶντα αὐτόν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Προυσίαν ἰκέτης καὶ ἀπωσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεπήδα τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ γυμνωθέντος τοῦ ξίφους τιτρώσκειται τὸν δάκτυλον. προελθόντι δὲ οἱ στάδια οὐ πολλὰ πυρετός τε ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος καὶ ἡ τελευτὴν τριταίῳ συνέβη· τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἔνθα ἀπέθανε καλοῦσιν οἱ Νικομηδεῖς Λίβυσσαν.
- 12 Ἀθηναίοις δὲ μάντευμα ἐκ Δωδώνης Σικελίαν ἦλθεν οἰκίζειν, ἡ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως ἡ

Emperor Hadrian, who wrote the inscription on it. Everybody must praise Epaminondas for being the most famous Greek general, or at least consider him second to none other. For the Lacedaemonian and the Athenian leaders enjoyed the ancient reputation of their cities, while their soldiers were men of a spirit, but the Thebans, whom Epaminondas raised to the highest position, were a disheartened people, accustomed to obey others

Epaminondas had been told before by an oracle from Delphi to beware of "ocean" So he was afraid to step on board a man-of-war or to sail in a merchant-ship, but by "ocean" the god indicated the grove "Ocean" and not the sea Places with the same name misled Hannibal the Carthaginian, and before him the Athenians also Hannibal received an oracle from Ammon that when he died he would be buried in Libyan earth. So he hoped to destroy the Roman empire, to return to his home in Libya, and there to die of old age. But when Flaminius the Roman was anxious to take him alive, Hannibal came to Prusias as a suppliant. Repulsed by Prusias he jumped upon his horse, but was wounded in the finger by his drawn sword When he had proceeded only a few stades his wound caused a fever, and he died on the third day The place where he died is called Libyssa by the Nicomedians The Athenians received an oracle from Dodona ordering them to colonise Sicily, and Sicily is a

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<sup>1</sup> ἐν is not in the MSS., but was added by Porson



Σικελία λόφος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· οἱ δὲ οὐ συμφρονήσαντες τὸ εἰρημένον ἔς τε ὑπερορίους στρατείας προήχθησαν καὶ ἐς τὸν Συρακοσίων πόλεμον. ἔχοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ πλέονα τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰκότα ἄλλα ἐξευρεῖν.

XII. Τοῦ τάφου δὲ τοῦ Ἐπαμινώνδα μάλιστα που σταδίου μῆκος Διὸς ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν Χάρμωνος. Ἀρκάδων δὲ ἐν τοῖς δρυμοῖς εἰσιν αἱ δρῦς διάφοροι, καὶ τὰς μὲν πλατυφύλους αὐτῶν, τὰς δὲ φηγοὺς καλοῦσιν· αἱ τρίται δὲ ἀραιὸν τὸν φλοιὸν καὶ οὕτω δὴ τι παρέχονται κοῦφον, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν θαλάσῃ ποιοῦνται σημεῖα ἀγκύραις καὶ δικτύοις· ταύτης τῆς δρυὸς τὸν φλοιὸν ἄλλοι τε Ἰώνων καὶ Ἑρμησιάναξ ὁ τὰ ἐλεγεία ποιήσας φελλὸν ὀνομάζουσιν.

- 2 Ἐς Μεθύδριον δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐκέτι, κώμην δὲ ἐς τὸ Μεγαλοπολιτικὸν συντελοῦσαν, ἐς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Μεθύδριον ἐκ Μαντινείας ὁδός. προελθόντι δὲ σταδίους τριάκοντα πεδίον τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἀλκιμέδων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Ὀστρακίνα, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ σπήλαιον, ἐνθα ὤκησεν Ἀλκιμέδων, ἀνὴρ τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων.
- 3 τούτου τοῦ Ἀλκιμέδοντος θυγατρὶ συγγενέσθαι Φιαλοῖ<sup>1</sup> Φιγαλεῖς λέγουσιν Ἡρακλέα· ὥς δὲ ᾗσθητο αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀλκιμέδων τεκοῦσαν, ἐκτίθησιν ἀπολουμένην ἐς τὸ ὄρος, σὺν δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε· καλοῦσι δὲ Αἰχμαγόραν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. ἀνακλαίοντος δὲ ὥς ἐξέκειτο τοῦ παιδός, κίσσα ἡ ὄρνις ἐπήκουέ τε ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀπεμιμείτο τὰ
- 4 κλαύματα· καὶ πῶς ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐρχόμενος τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην ἐπήκουσε τῆς κίσσης καὶ—ἐνόμισε γὰρ παιδὸς εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ὄρνιθος τὸν κλαυθμόν—

small hill not far from Athens. But they, not understanding the order, were persuaded to undertake expeditions overseas, especially the Syracusan war. More examples could be found similar to those I have given.

XII Just about a stade from the grave of Epaminondas is a sanctuary of Zeus surnamed Charmon. The oaks in the groves of the Arcadians are of different sorts; some of them are called "broad-leaved," others "edible oaks." A third kind have a porous bark, which is so light that they actually make from it floats for anchors and nets. The bark of this oak is called "coik" by the Ionians, for example by Heimesianax, the elegiac poet.

From Mantinea there is a road leading to Methydrium, which to-day is not a city, but only a village belonging to Megalopolis. Thirty stades farther is a plain called Alcimedon, and beyond the plain is Mount Ostiacina, in which is a cave where dwelt Alcimedon, one of those called heroes. This man's daughter, Phialo, had connection, say the Phigalians, with Heracles. When Alcimedon realised that she had a child, he exposed her to perish on the mountain, and with her the baby boy she had borne, whom the Arcadians call Aechmagoras. On being exposed the babe began to cry, and a jay heard him wailing and began to imitate his cries. It happened that Heracles, passing along that road, heard the jay, and, thinking that the crying was that of a baby and not of a bird, turned straight to

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<sup>1</sup> Here the MSS have *ὧς*

ἐτράπετο εὐθὺ τῆς φωνῆς· γνωρίσας δὲ αὐτὴν  
τε ἔλυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀνέσω-  
σατο. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ ἡ πλησίον πηγὴ Κίσσα  
ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρνιθος ὀνομάζεται. τεσσαράκοντα δὲ  
ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς στάδια ἀφέστηκε Πετροσάκα  
καλούμενον χωρίον· Μεγαλοπολιτῶν δὲ καὶ  
Μαντινέων ὄρος ἐστὶν ἡ Πετροσάκα.

- 5 Ἐπὶ δὲ ὁδοῖς ταῖς κατειλεγμέναις δύο ἐς  
Ὀρχομενὸν εἰσὶν ἄλλαι, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐστὶ καλού-  
μενον Λάδα στάδιον, ἐς δ' ἐποιεῖτο Λάδας μελέτην  
δρόμον, καὶ παρ' αὐτὸ ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἐν  
δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ γῆς χῶμα ὑψηλόν· Πηνελόπης  
δὲ εἶναι τάφον φασίν, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς  
6 αὐτὴν ποιήσει τῇ<sup>1</sup> Θεσπρωτίδι ὀνομαζομένη. ἐν  
ταύτῃ μὲν γέ ἐστι τῇ ποιήσει ἐπανήκοντι ἐκ  
Τροίας Ὀδυσσεὶ τεκεῖν τὴν Πηνελόπην Πτολι-  
πόρθην παῖδα· Μαντινέων δὲ ὁ ἐς αὐτὴν λόγος  
Πηνελόπην φησὶν ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεὶος καταγνωσθεῖσαν  
ὥς ἐπισπαστοὺς ἐσαγάγοιτο ἐς τὸν οἶκον, καὶ  
ἀποπεμφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν παραντίκα ἐς  
Λακεδαίμονα ἀπελθεῖν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκ τῆς  
Σπάρτης ἐς Μαντίνειαν μετοικῆσαι, καὶ οἱ τοῦ  
7 βίου τὴν τελευταίαν ἐνταῦθα συμβῆναι. τοῦ  
τάφου δὲ ἔχεται τούτου πεδίου οὐ μέγα, καὶ  
ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰ ἐρείπια ἔτι Μαντι-  
νείας ἔχον τῆς ἀρχαίας· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ χωρίον  
τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμῶν Πτόλις. κατὰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἄρκτον  
αὐτῆς προελθόντι ὁδὸν οὐ μακρὰν Ἀλαλκομενείας  
ἐστὶ πηγὴ, τῆς Πτόλεως δὲ μετὰ σταδίου τριά-  
κοντα κώμης τε ἐρείπια καλουμένης Μαιρᾶς καὶ  
τάφος Μαιρᾶς,<sup>2</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ  
Τεγεατῶν ἐτάφη· Τεγεαταῖς γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τὸ  
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the voice. Recognising Phialo he loosed her from her bonds and saved the baby. Wherefore the spring hard by is named Cissa (*Jay*) after the bird. Forty stades distant from the spring is the place called Petiosaca, which is the boundary between Megalopolis and Mantinea.

In addition to the roads mentioned there are two others, leading to Orchomenus. On one is what is called the stadium of Ladas, where Ladas practised his running, and by it a sanctuary of Artemis, and on the right of the road is a high mound of earth. It is said to be the grave of Penelope, but the account of her in the poem called *Thesprotis* is not in agreement with this saying. For in it the poet says that when Odysseus returned from Troy he had a son Ptoliporthes by Penelope. But the Mantinean story about Penelope says that Odysseus convicted her of bringing paramours to his home, and being cast out by him she went away at first to Lacedaemon, but afterwards she removed from Sparta to Mantinea, where she died. Adjoining this grave is a plain of no great size, and on the plain is a mountain whereon still stand the ruins of old Mantinea. To-day the place is called Ptolis. Advancing a little way to the north of it you come to the spring of Alalcomeneia, and thirty stades from Ptolis are the ruins of a village called Maera, with the grave of Maera, if it be really the case that Maera was buried here and not in Tegean land. For probably the Tegeans, and not the

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<sup>1</sup> ῥῆ is not in the MSS

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰφος Μαίρας is not in the MSS, but was added by Madvig,

εἰκὸς καὶ οὐ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεται, Μαιρὰν τὴν Ἄτλαντος παρὰ σφίσι ταφῆναι. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῆς Ἄτλαντος Μαιρᾶς ἑτέρα Μαιρὰ ἀφίκοιτο ἐς τὴν Μαντινικὴν.

- 8 Λείπεται δὲ ἔτι τῶν ὁδῶν ἡ ἐς Ὀρχομενόν, καθ' ἣντινα Ἀγχισία τε ὄρος καὶ Ἀγχίσου μνήμᾳ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τοῖς ποσίν. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἐκομίζετο ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ Αἰνείας, ἔσχε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, καὶ πόλεόν τε Ἀφροδισιάδος καὶ Ἡτιδος ἐγένετο οἰκιστὴς καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγχίσην κατὰ πρόφασιν δὴ τινα παραγενόμενον ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον καὶ αὐτόθι τοῦ βίου τῇ τελευτῇ χρησάμενον ἔθαψεν ἐνταῦθα· καὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου καλοῦσιν
- 9 Ἀγχισίαν. τούτου δὲ συντελοῦσιν ἐς πίστιν Αἰολέων οἱ Ἴλιον ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔχοντες, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς σφετέρας ἀποφαίνοντες μνήμα Ἀγχίσου. πρὸς δὲ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου τῷ τάφῳ ἐρείπιά ἐστιν Ἀφροδίτης ἱεροῦ, καὶ Μαντινέων ὄροι πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀγχισίαις εἰσίν.

XIII Ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ Ὀρχομενίων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀπὸ Ἀγχισίων, ἐν ὑπτίῳ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι τῆς Ὑμνίας Ἀρτέμιδος· μέτεστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαντινεῦσι \* \* καὶ ἰέριαν καὶ ἄνδρα ἱερέα. τούτοις οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐς τὰς μίξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλο ἀγιστεύειν καθέστηκε τὸν χρόνον τοῦ βίου πάντα, καὶ οὔτε λουτρὰ οὔτε δίαίτα λοιπὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ σφίσι καθὰ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστίν, οὐδὲ ἐς οἰκίαν παρίασιν ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου. τοιαῦτα οἶδα ἑτέρα ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ οὐ πρόσω Ἐφεσίων ἐπιτηδεύοντας τοὺς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἰστιάτορας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ γινο-

Mantineans, are right when they say that Maera, the daughter of Atlas, was buried in their land. Perhaps, however, the Maera who came to the land of Mantinea was another, a descendant of Maera, the daughter of Atlas

There still remains the road leading to Orchomenus, on which are Mount Anchisia and the tomb of Anchises at the foot of the mountain. For when Aeneas was voyaging to Sicily, he put in with his ships to Laconia, becoming the founder of the cities Aphrodisias and Etis, his father Anchises for some reason or other came to this place and died there, where Aeneas buried him. This mountain they call Anchisia after Anchises. The probability of this story is strengthened by the fact that the Aeolians who to-day occupy Troy nowhere point out a tomb of Anchises in their own land. Near the grave of Anchises are the ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, and at Anchisiae is the boundary between Mantinea and Orchomenus.

XIII In the territory of Orchomenus, on the left of the road from Anchisiae, there is on the slope of the mountain the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia. The Mantineans, too, share it. . . a priestess also and a priest. It is the custom for these to live their whole lives in purity, not only sexual but in all respects, and they neither wash nor spend their lives as do ordinary people, nor do they enter the home of a private man. I know that the "entertainers" of the Ephesian Artemis live in a similar fashion, but for a year only, the

μένους, καλουμένους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἑσση-  
νας. τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ὑμνία καὶ ἑορτὴν  
ἄγουσιν ἐπέτειον.

- 2 Ὁρχομενίοις δὲ ἡ προτέρα πόλις ἐπὶ ὄρους ἦν  
ἄκρα τῇ κορυφῇ, καὶ ἀγορᾶς τε καὶ τειχῶν  
ἐρείπια λείπεται· τὴν δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πόλιν ὑπὸ τὸν  
περίβολον οἰκοῦσι τοῦ ἀρχαίου τείχους. θεᾶς  
δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια πηγὴ τε, ἀφ' ἧς ὕδρευονται, καὶ  
Ποσειδῶνός ἐστι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά, λίθου δὲ  
τὰ ἀγάλματα. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει ξόανόν ἐστιν  
Ἀρτέμιδος· ἴδρυται δὲ ἐν κέδρῳ μεγάλῃ, καὶ τὴν  
θεὸν ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς κέδρου Κεδρεᾶτιν.
- 3 σωροὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν λίθων εἰσὶ διεστηκότες  
ἀπὸ ἀλλήλων, ἐπενήθησαν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ πε-  
σοῦσιν ἀνδράσιν. οἷς τισι δὲ Πελοποννησίων  
ἐπολέμησαν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ Ἀρκάδων αὐτῶν, οὔτε  
ἐπιγράμματα ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐσήμαινεν οὔτε οἱ  
Ὁρχομένιοι μνημονεύουσιν.

- 4 Ἔστι δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς πόλεως ὄρος Τραχύ  
τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ χαράδρας ῥέον  
κοίλης μεταξὺ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ Τραχέος  
ὄρους κάτεισιν ἐς ἄλλο Ὁρχομένιον πεδίου, τὸ δὲ  
πεδίου τοῦτο μεγέθει μὲν μέγα, τὰ πλείω δὲ  
ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ λίμνη. ἰόντι δὲ ἐξ Ὁρχομενοῦ καὶ  
σταδίους προελθόντι ὅσον τρεῖς, ἡ μὲν εὐθεῖα  
ἐπὶ πόλιν Καφυὰν ἄγει παρά τε αὐτὴν τὴν  
χαράδραν καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρὰ τὸ  
ὕδωρ τὸ λιμνάζον· ἡ δὲ ἐτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν διαβάντι  
τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ διὰ τῆς χαράδρας ῥέον ὑπὸ τὸ Τραχύ
- 5 ἐστὶν ὄρος. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην πρῶτον  
μὲν μνημὰ ἐστὶν Ἀριστοκράτους, ὃς βία ποτὲ  
ἦσχυνε τὴν ἱερωμένην τῇ Ὑμνία θεῷ παρθένον,

Ephesians calling them Essenes. They also hold an annual festival in honour of Artemis Hymnia.

The former city of Orchomenus was on the peak of a mountain, and there still remain ruins of a market-place and of walls. The modern, inhabited city lies under the circuit of the old wall. Worth seeing here is a spring, from which they draw water, and there are sanctuaries of Poseidon and of Aphrodite, the images being of stone. Near the city is a wooden image of Artemis. It is set in a large cedar tree, and after the tree they call the goddess the Lady of the Cedar. Beneath the city are heaps of stones at intervals, which were piled over men who fell in war. With what Peloponnesians, whether Arcadians or other, the war was fought, was set forth neither by inscriptions on the graves nor in Orchomenian tradition.

Opposite the city is Mount Trachy (*Rough*). The rain-water, flowing through a deep gully between the city and Mount Trachy, descends to another Orchomenian plain, which is very considerable in extent, but the greater part of it is a lake. As you go out of Orchomenus, after about three stades, the straight road leads you to the city Caphya, along the side of the gully and afterwards along the water of the lake on the left. The other road, after you have crossed the water flowing through the gully, goes under Mount Trachy. On this road the first thing is the tomb of Aristocrates, who once outraged the virgin priestess of the goddess Hymnia,

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<sup>1</sup> ἐπειρήθησαν Bekker ἐγενήθησαν MSS



μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστοκράτους τὸν τάφον πηγαί τε εἰσι καλούμεναι Τενεῖαι καὶ ἀπέχει τῶν πηγῶν στάδια ὥς ἑπτὰ Ἄμιλος χωρίον· πόλιν δὲ τὴν Ἄμιλόν ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι. κατὰ τοῦτο αὖθις τὸ χωρίον δίχα ἡ ὁδὸς τέμνεται, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ 6 Στύμφηλον, ἡ δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν αὐτῶν ἄγει. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐς Φενεὸν ἐκδέχεται σε ὄρος· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ συνάπτουσιν Ὀρχομενίων καὶ Φενεατῶν τε καὶ Καφυατῶν ὄροι τῆς γῆς. ἀνατείνει δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄρους κρημνὸς ὑψηλός· πέτραι Καφυατικὴν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν κρημνόν. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ὄρους ταῖς κατειλεγμέναις πόλεσι φάραγξ τε ὑπόκειται καὶ φέρει δι' αὐτῆς ἡ ἐς Φενεὸν ὁδός· κατὰ μέσσην δὲ πον μάλιστα τὴν φάραγγα ὕδωρ ἄνεισιν ἐκ πηγῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι τῆς φάραγγος Καρυαὶ χωρίον.

XIV. Φενεατῶν δὲ τὸ πεδῖον κείται μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς Καρυαῖς, πλεονάσαντος δὲ ποτε αὐτῷ τοῦ ὕδατος κατακλυσθῆναί φασιν τὴν ἀρχαίαν Φενεόν, ὥστε καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν σημεῖα ἐλείπετο ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐς ἃ ἐπαναβῆναι τὸ ὕδωρ λέγουσι. Καρυῶν δὲ στάδια πέντε ἀφέστηκεν ἢ τε Ὀρυξίς καλουμένη καὶ ἕτερον ὄρος Σκίαθις· ὑφ' ἐκατέρῳ δὲ ἐστι τῷ ὄρει βάραθρον τὸ ὕδωρ καταδεχόμενον 2 τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου. τὰ δὲ βάραθρα οἱ Φενεᾶται ταῦτά φασιν εἶναι χειροποίητα, ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὰ Ἡρακλέα τηνικαῦτα ἐν Φενεῷ παρὰ Λαονόμῃ τῇ Ἀμφιτρύωνος μητρὶ οἰκοῦντα· γενέσθαι γὰρ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἐκ Λαονόμης Ἀλκαίῳ τῆς Γούνεως,<sup>1</sup> γυναικὸς Φενεάτιδος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Πέλοπος Λυσιδίκης. εἰ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς Φενεάτας μετόκησε, πείθοιτο ἂν τις διωχ-

and after the grave of Anistocrates are springs called Teneiae, and about seven stades distant from the springs is a place Amilus, which once, they say, was a city. Here the road forks again, one way leading to Stymphalus, the other to Pheneus. On the road to Pheneus you will come to a mountain. On this mountain meet the boundaries of Orchomenus, Pheneus<sup>1</sup> and Caphya. Over the boundaries extends a high crag, called the Caphyatic Rock. After the boundaries of the cities I have mentioned lies a ravine, and the road to Pheneus leads through it. Just about the middle of the ravine water rises up from a spring, and at the end of the ravine is a place called Caryae.

XIV The plain of Pheneus lies below Caryae, and they say that once the water rose on it and flooded the ancient city of Pheneus, so that even to-day there remain on the mountains marks up to which, it is said, the water rose. Five stades distant from Caryae is a mountain called Oryxis, and another, Mount Sciathis. Under each mountain is a chasm that receives the water from the plain. These chasms according to the people of Pheneus are artificial, being made by Heracles when he lived in Pheneus with Laonome, the mother of Amphitryo, who was, it is said, the son of Alcaeus by Laonome, the daughter of Guneus, a woman of Pheneus, and not by Lysidice, the daughter of Pelops. Now if Heracles really migrated to Pheneus, one might

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<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have Γούνεω.

θέντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως αὐτὸν οὐκ αὐτίκα ἐς Θήβας, πρότερον δὲ ἐς Φενεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. διὰ μέσου δὲ ὥρυξεν Ἡρακλῆς τοῦ Φενεατῶν πεδίου, ρεῦμα εἶναι τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Ὀλβίῳ, ὃν τινα Ἀροάνιον Ἀρκαδῶν καλοῦσιν ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ Ὀλβιον· μῆκος μὲν τοῦ ὀρύγματος σταδίοι πεντήκοντά εἰσι, βάθος δέ, ὅσον μὴ πεπτωκός ἐστιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐς τριάκοντα καθήκει πόδας. οὐ μὲν ταύτη γε ἔτι κάτεισιν ὁ ποταμός, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸ ρεῦμα ἀπεχώρησεν αὖθις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καταλιπὼν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον.

- 4 Τῶν βαράθρων δὲ τῶν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις πεποιημένων ὄρεσιν ἀπωτέρω πεντήκοντά που σταδίοις ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις· οἰκιστὴν δὲ οἱ Φενεᾶται λέγουσιν ἄνδρα αὐτόχθονα εἶναι Φενεόν. ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἀκρόπολις ἀπότομος πανταχόθεν, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἔχουσα οὕτως, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ὠχυρώσαντο ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας. ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ναός ἐστιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Τριτωνίας, ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα· καὶ Ποσειδῶν χαλκοῦς ἕστηκεν ἐπωνυμίαν Ἴππιος, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος Ὀδυσσεὰς ἔφασαν· ἀπολέσθαι γὰρ ἵππους τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸν γῆν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ ζήτησιν ἐπιόντα τῶν ἵππων ἰδρύσασθαι μὲν ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Εὐρίππαν ὀνομάσαι τὴν θεόν, ἐνθα τῆς Φενεατικῆς χώρας εὔρε τὰς ἵππους, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰππίου.
- 6 τῷ δὲ Ὀδυσσεῖ λέγουσιν εὐρόντι τὰς ἵππους γενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ γνώμην ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Φενεατῶν ἔχειν ἵππους, καθάπερ γε καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ τῆς Ἰθάκης ἀπαντικρὺ τρέφειν αὐτόν·

believe that when expelled by Eurystheus from Tiryns he did not go at once to Thebes, but went first to Pheneus. Heracles dug a channel through the middle of the plain of Pheneus for the river Olbius, which some Arcadians call, not Olbius but Aroamus. The length of the cutting is fifty stades, its depth, where it has not fallen in, is as much as thirty feet. The river, however, no longer flows along it, but it has gone back to its old bed, having left the work of Heracles.

About fifty stades from the chasms made in the mountains I have mentioned is the city, founded, say the Pheneatians, by Pheneus, an aboriginal. Their acropolis is precipitous on all sides, mostly so naturally, but a few parts have been artificially strengthened, to make it more secure. On the acropolis here is a temple of Athena surnamed Tritonia, but of it I found ruins only remaining. There stands also a bronze Poseidon, surnamed Horse, whose image, it is said, was dedicated by Odysseus. The legend is that Odysseus lost his mares, traversed Greece in search of them, and on the site in the land of Pheneus where he found his mares founded a sanctuary of Artemis, calling the goddess Horse-finder, and also dedicated the image of Horse Poseidon. When Odysseus found his mares he was minded, it is said, to keep horses in the land of Pheneus, just as he reared his cows, they say, on the mainland opposite Ithaca. On the base of the

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<sup>1</sup> Here the MSS have *ἐλυτρον*. Some editors retain with τὸ prefixed. Hitzig transposes to after *πεδίου* § 3

- καί μοι καὶ γράμματα οἱ Φενεᾶται παρείχοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος γεγραμμένα τῷ βάρῳ, τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς δὴ τι πρόσταγμα τοῖς ποιμαίνουσι  
7 τὰς ἵππους τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἐπομένοις ἡμῖν τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ εἰκὸς προσέσται, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα Ὀδυσσεῖα ἀναθεῖναι τὸ χαλκοῦν οὐκ ἔχω πείθεσθαι σφισιν· οὐ γάρ πω τότε τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὰ ἀγάλματα διὰ παντὸς ἠπίσταντο ἐργάσασθαι καθάπερ ἐσθῆτα ἐξυφαίνοντες. τρόπον δὲ ὅστις ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ χαλκᾶ ἐργασίας, ἔδειξεν ἤδη μοι τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος  
8 τοῦ Ὑπάτου Διός. διέχεαν δὲ χαλκὸν πρῶτοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἔχωνεύσαντο Ῥοϊκὸς τε Φιλαίου καὶ Θεόδωρος Τηλεκλέους Σάμιοι. Θεοδώρου δὲ ἔργον ἦν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τῆς σμαράγδου σφραγίς, ἦν Πολυκράτης ὁ Σάμου τυραννήσας ἐφόρει τε τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ περισσῶς δὴ τι ἠγάλλετο.  
9 Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καταβαίνοντι ἔστι μὲν στάδιον, ἔστι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου μνῆμα Ἴφικλέους ἀδελφοῦ τε Ἡρακλέους καὶ Ἰολάου πατρός. Ἰόλαον μὲν δὴ τὰ πολλὰ Ἡρακλεῖ συγκαμνέειν λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες· Ἴφικλῆς δὲ ὁ Ἰολάου πατήρ, ἠνίκα ἐμαχέσατο Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Ἡλείους τε καὶ Αὐγέαυ τὴν προτέραν μάχην, τότε ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων ἐτρώθη τῶν Ἀκτορος, καλουμένων δὲ ἀπὸ Μολίνης τῆς μητρός. καὶ ἤδη κάμνοντα κομίζουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐς Φενεόν· ἐνταῦθα ἀνὴρ Φενεάτης αὐτὸν Βουφάγος καὶ ἡ τοῦ Βουφάγου γυνὴ Πρώμνη περιεῖπόν τε εὖ καὶ ἀποθανόντα ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἔθαψαν.  
10 Ἴφικλεῖ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς ἥρωι, θεῶν δὲ τιμῶσιν Ἑρμῆν Φενεᾶται μάλιστα

image the people of Pheneus pointed out to me writing, purporting to be instructions of Odysseus to those tending his mares. The rest of the account of the people of Pheneus it will be reasonable to accept, but I cannot believe their statement that Odysseus dedicated the bronze image. For men had not yet learned how to make bronze images in one piece, after the manner of those weaving a garment. Their method of working bronze statues I have already described when speaking of the image of Zeus Most High in my history of the Spartans<sup>1</sup>. The first men to melt bronze and to cast images were the Samians Rhoecus the son of Philaeus and Theodorus the son of Telecles. Theodorus also made the emerald signet, which Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, constantly wore, being exceedingly proud of it.

As you go down from the acropolis of Pheneus you come to a stadium, and on a hill stands a tomb of Iphicles, the brother of Heracles and the father of Iolaus. Iolaus, according to the Greek account, shared most of the labours of Heracles, but his father Iphicles, in the first battle fought by Heracles against the Eleans and Augeas, was wounded by the sons of Actor, who were called after their mother Moline. In a fainting condition he was carried by his relatives to Pheneus, where he was carefully nursed by Buphagus, a citizen of Pheneus, and by his wife Promne, who also buried him when he died of his wound. They still sacrifice to Iphicles as to a hero, and of the gods the people of Pheneus worship most Hermes, in whose honour

<sup>1</sup> See Book III. XVII § 6.

- καὶ ἀγῶνα ἄγουσιν Ἑρμαία, καὶ ναός ἐστιν Ἑρμοῦ σφισι καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου· τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Εὐχαιρ Εὐβουλίδου. ὁπισθεν δὲ ἐστι τοῦ ναοῦ τάφος Μυρτίλου. τοῦτον Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι Μυρτίλον λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἡνιοχεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν Οἰνομάῳ· καὶ ὁπότε ἀφίκοιτό τις μνώμενος τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν θυγατέρα, ὁ μὲν ἠπείγετο ὁ Μυρτίλος σὺν τέχνῃ τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὰς ἵππους, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τὸν μνηστήρα,
- 11 ὁπότε ἐγγὺς γένοιτο, κατηκόντιζεν. Ἴπποδαμείας δὲ ἦρα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μυρτίλος, ἐς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀτόλμως ἔχων ὑπέεικε καὶ ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Οἰνομάῳ. τέλος δὲ καὶ ἀναφανῆναι τοῦ Οἰνομάου προδότην φασὶν αὐτὸν ὑπαχθέντα ὄρκους, ὥς οἱ νύκτα ὁ Πέλοψ μίαν Ἴπποδαμεία συγγενέσθαι παρήσει ἀναμιμνήσκοντα οὖν τῶν ὄρκων ὁ Πέλοψ ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς νεῶς· Φερεάται δὲ τοῦ Μυρτίλου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐκβληθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος λέγουσιν ἀνελόμενοι θάψαι, καὶ νύκτωρ
- 12 κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν αὐτῷ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ Πέλοψ δῆλος οὐ πολλὴν τινα παραπλεύσας θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ τῶν ἐκβολῶν ἐς τὸ ἐπίνειον τὸ Ἡλείων. οὐκ ἂν οὖν τό γε πέλαγος τὸ Μυρτῶον ἀπὸ Μυρτίλου τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φαίνοιτο κεκλημένον, ἀρχόμενόν τε ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας καὶ παρ' Ἑλένην ἔρημον νῆσον καθῆκον ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσιν Εὐβοέων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες εἰκότα εἰρηκέναι, λέγοντες ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Μυρτοῦς τῷ πελάγει γεγενῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τῷ Μυρτῶ.

XV. Φερεάταις δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Ἐλευσινίας, καὶ ἄγουσι τῇ θεῷ τελε-

they celebrate the games called *Hermæa*, they have also a temple of *Hermes*, and a stone image, made by an Athenian, *Euchair* the son of *Eubulides*. Behind the temple is the grave of *Myrtilus*. The Greeks say that he was the son of *Hermes*, and that he served as charioteer to *Oenomaus*. Whenever a man arrived to woo the daughter of *Oenomaus*, *Myrtilus* craftily drove on the mares, while *Oenomaus* on the course shot down the wooer when he came near. *Myrtilus* himself, too, was in love with *Hippodameia*, but his courage failing him he shrank from the competition and served *Oenomaus* as his charioteer. At last, it is said, he proved a traitor to *Oenomaus*, being induced thereto by an oath sworn by *Pelops* that he would let him be with *Hippodameia* for one night. So when reminded of his oath *Pelops* threw him out of the ship. The people of *Pheneus* say that the body of *Myrtilus* was cast ashore by the tide, that they took it up and buried it, and that every year they sacrifice to him by night as to a hero. It is plain that *Pelops* did not make a long coasting voyage, but only sailed from the mouth of the *Alpheius* to the harbour of *Elis*. So the Sea of *Myrto* is obviously not named after *Myrtilus*, the son of *Hermes*, as it begins at *Euboea* and reaches the *Aegæan* by way of the uninhabited island of *Helene*. I think that a probable account is given by the antiquarians of *Euboea*, who say that the sea is named after a woman called *Myrto*.

XV The people of *Pheneus* have also a sanctuary of *Demeter*, surnamed *Eleusinian*, and they perform



- τὴν, τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι δρώμενα καὶ παρὰ σφίσι τὰ αὐτὰ φάσκοντες καθεστηκέναι· ἀφικέσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς Ναὸν κατὰ μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, τρίτον δὲ ἀπόγονον Εὐμόλπου τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Ναόν. παρὰ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας τὸ ἱερὸν πεποιήται Πέτρωμα καλούμενον, λίθοι δύο ἡρμοσμένοι πρὸς  
 2 ἀλλήλους μεγάλοι. ἄγοντες δὲ παρὰ ἔτος ἦντινα τελετὴν μείζονα ὀνομάζουσι, τοὺς λίθους τούτους τηνικαῦτα ἀνοίγουσι· λαβόντες γράμματα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔχοντα ἐς τὴν τελετὴν καὶ ἀναγνόντες ἐς ἐπήκοον τῶν μυστῶν, κατέθεντο ἐν νυκτὶ αὐθις τῇ αὐτῇ. Φενεατῶν δὲ οἶδα τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὀμνύντας ὑπὲρ μεγίστων τῷ Πετρώματι  
 3 καὶ ἐπίθημα ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιφερές ἐστιν, ἔχον ἐντὸς Δήμητρος πρόσωπον Κιδαρίας· τοῦτο ὁ ἱερεὺς περιθέμενος τὸ πρόσωπον ἐν τῇ μείζονι καλουμένῃ τελετῇ ῥάβδοις κατὰ λόγον δὴ τινα τοὺς ὑποχθονίους παίει. Φενεατῶν δὲ ἐστὶ λόγος, καὶ πρὶν ἢ Ναὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρα πλανωμένην· ὅσοι δὲ Φενεατῶν οἴκῳ τε καὶ ξενίοις ἐδέξαντο αὐτήν, τούτοις τὰ ὄσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κύαμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκέ σφισι.  
 4 κύαμον μὲν οὖν ἐφ' ὅτῳ μὴ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζουσιν ὄσπριον, ἐστὶν ἱερὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγος· οἱ δὲ τῷ Φενεατῶν λόγῳ δεξάμενοι τὴν θεόν, Τρισαύλης καὶ Δαμιθάλης, ἐποιήσαντο μὲν Δήμητρος ναὸν Θεσμίας ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Κυλλήνῃ, κατεστήσαντο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τελετὴν, ἦντινα καὶ νῦν ἄγουσιν. ὁ δὲ ναὸς οὗτος τῆς Θεσμίας σταδίους πέντε μάλιστα πού καὶ δέκα ἐστὶν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως.  
 5 Ἐς δὲ Πελλήνην ἐκ Φενεοῦ καὶ ἐς Αἴγειραν

a ritual to the goddess, saying that the ceremonies at Eleusis are the same as those established among themselves. For Naus, they assert, came to them because of an oracle from Delphi, being a grandson of Eumolpus. Beside the sanctuary of the Eleusinian has been set up Petroma, as it is called, consisting of two large stones fitted one to the other. When every other year they celebrate what they call the Greater Rites, they open these stones. They take from out them writings that refer to the rites, read them in the hearing of the initiated, and return them on the same night. Most Pheneatians, too, I know, take an oath by the Petroma in the most important affairs. On the top is a sphere, with a mask inside of Demeter Cidaria. This mask is put on by the priest at the Greater Rites, who for some reason or other beats with rods the Folk Underground. The Pheneatians have a story that even before Naus arrived the wanderings of Demeter brought her to their city also. To those Pheneatians who received her with hospitality into their homes the goddess gave all sorts of pulse save the bean only. There is a sacred story to explain why the bean in their eyes is an impure kind of pulse. Those who, the Pheneatians say, gave the goddess a welcome, Trisaules and Damithales, had a temple of Demeter Thesmia (*Largogoddess*) built under Mount Cyllene, and they established for her rites also, which they celebrate even to this day. This temple of the goddess Thesmia is just about fifteen stades away from the city.

As you go from Pheneus to Pellene and Aegira,

- ἰόντι Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν, πέντε που προεληλυθότι  
 καὶ δέκα σταδίους, Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι Πυθίου  
 νυός· ἐρείπια δὲ ἐλείπετο αὐτοῦ μόνα καὶ βωμὸς  
 μέγας λίθου λευκοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἔτι καὶ νῦν Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνι Φεναῖται καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, Ἡρακλέα  
 ἐλόντα Ἥλιν τὸ ἱερὸν λέγοντες ποιῆσαι. ἔστι  
 δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ ἡρώων μνήματα, ὅσοι σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ  
 στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἥλείους μετασχόντες οὐκ ἀπεσώ-  
 6 θησαν οἵκαδε ἐκ τῆς μάχης. τέθαπται δὲ Τελα-  
 μὼν ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ Ἀροανίου,  
 ἀπωτέρω μικρὸν ἢ ἔστι τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 Χαλκῶδων δὲ οὐ πόρρω κρήνης καλουμένης Οἰνόης  
 τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἐλεφνηρος τοῦ Εὐβοεῦσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐς Ἴλιον  
 ἡγησαμένου καὶ τὸν Αἶαντός τε καὶ Τεύκρου,  
 τούτων μὲν τοὺς πατέρας οὐκ ἀποδέξαιτο ἂν τις  
 ἐν τούτῳ πεσεῖν τῷ ἀγῶνι· πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν συν-  
 επελάβετο Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ ἔργου Χαλκῶδων, ὃν  
 πρότερον ἔτι ἀποκτείνειν Ἀμφιτρύωνα καὶ μαρ-  
 τυρεῖται καὶ πιστεύειν ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐν Θήβαις,  
 7 πῶς δὲ Τεύκρος ᾤκισεν ἂν Σαλαμίνα ἐν Κύπρῳ  
 πόλιν, μηδενὸς ὡς ἀνέστρεψεν ἐκ Τροίας ἐκβαλόν-  
 τος ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας; τίς δ' ἂν ἐξήλασεν ἄλλος πλὴν  
 ὁ Τελαμὼν αὐτόν; δῆλα οὖν ἐστι Χαλκῶδοντα οὐ  
 τὸν ἐξ Εὐβοίας καὶ Τελαμῶνα οὐ τὸν Αἰγινήτην ἐπὶ  
 Ἥλείους Ἡρακλεῖ μετεσχηκέναι τῆς στρατείας·  
 ὁμώνυμοι δὲ ἐπιφανέσιν ἄνδρες ἀφανέστεροι καὶ  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἐγίνοντο ὁμοίως  
 χρόνον.  
 8 Φεναῖταις δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἀχαικὸν τὸ ὄμορον οὐ  
 καθ' ἐν ὅροι τῆς γῆς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν

<sup>1</sup> The MSS have νηυσὶν. The emendation is due to Schubart-Walz. Compare Homer, *Iliad*, II 540

an Achaean city, after about fifteen stades you come to a temple of Pythian Apollo. I found there only its ruins, which include a large altar of white marble. Here even now the Pheneatians still sacrifice to Apollo and Artemis, and they say that the sanctuary was made by Heracles after capturing Elis. Here also are tombs of heroes, those who joined the campaign of Heracles against Elis and lost their lives in the fighting. They are Telamon, buried quite near the river Aioanius, a little farther away than is the sanctuary of Apollo, and Chalcodon, not far from the spring called Oenoe. Nobody could admit that there fell in this battle the Chalcodon who was the father of the Elephenoi who led the Euboeans to Troy, and the Telamon who was the father of Ajax and Teucer. For how could Heracles have been helped in his task by a Chalcodon who, according to trustworthy tradition, had before this been killed in Thebes by Amphitryon? And how would Teucer have founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus if nobody had expelled him from his native city after his return from Troy? And who else would have driven him out except Telamon? So it is plain that those who helped Heracles in his campaign against Elis were not the Chalcodon of Euboea and the Telamon of Aegina. It is, and always has been, not unknown that undistinguished persons have had the same names as distinguished heroes.

The borders of Pheneus and Achaia meet in more places than one, for towards Pellene the boundary

Πελλήνην ὁ καλούμενος Πωρίνας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν  
 Αἰγειράτιν τὸ ἐπ' Ἄρτεμιν.<sup>1</sup> ἐν δὲ αὐτῶν  
 Φενεατῶν τῇ χώρᾳ μετὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος τοῦ Πυθίου προήξεις τε οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 καὶ ἐντὸς ἔσῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος  
 9 ἀγούσης τὴν Κράθιν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ τοῦ Κράθιδος εἰσιν αἱ πηγαί· ῥεῖ δὲ ἐς  
 θάλασσαν παρὰ Αἰγὰς, ἔρημον· τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ  
 χωρίον, τὰ δὲ παλαιότερα Ἀχαιῶν πόλιν. ἀπὸ  
 τούτου δὲ καλεῖται τοῦ Κράθιδος καὶ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ  
 ποταμὸς ἐν γῇ τῇ Βρεττίων· ἐν δὲ τῇ Κράθιδι  
 τῷ ὄρει Πυρωνίας ἱερὸν ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ  
 τὰ ἔτι ἀρχαιότερα παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης ἐπήγοντο  
 Ἀργεῖοι πῦρ ἐς τὰ Λερναῖα.

XVI. Ἐκ δὲ Φενεοῦ πρὸς ἥλιον ἰόντι ἀνισ-  
 χοντα ὄρους ἔστιν ἄκρα Γερόντειον καὶ κατὰ  
 ταύτην ὁδός· Φενεάταις δὲ ὄροι πρὸς Στυμφαλίους  
 τῆς γῆς τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ Γερόντειον. τοῦ Γεροντείου  
 δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ διὰ τῆς Φενεατικῆς ὁδεύοντι ὄρη  
 Φενεατῶν ἔστι Τρίκρηνα καλούμενα, καὶ εἰσὶν  
 αὐτόθι κρήναι τρεῖς· ἐν ταύταις λούσαι τεχθέντα  
 Ἑρμῇ αἱ περὶ τὸ ὄρος λέγονται νύμφαι, καὶ ἐπὶ  
 2 τούτῳ τὰς πηγὰς ἱερὰς Ἑρμοῦ νομίζουσιν. Τρι-  
 κρήνων δὲ οὐ πόρρω ἄλλο ἔστιν ὄρος Σηπία, καὶ  
 Αἰπύτῳ τῷ Ἐλάτου λέγουσιν ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι  
 τὴν τελευτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄψεως, καὶ οἱ καὶ τὸν τάφον  
 ἐποίησαν αὐτόθι· οὐ γὰρ οἶά τε ἦν σφισιν ἐς τὸ  
 πρόσω φέρειν τὸν νεκρόν. τούτους οἱ Ἀρκάδες  
 τοὺς ὄφεις γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἐν τῷ ὄρει  
 φασίν, οὐ μέντοι πολλοὺς γε ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλιστα  
 σπανίους· ἅτε γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους τὸ πολὺ νειφομένου

<sup>1</sup> Kayser suggests δ ποταμὸς δ' Ἀροάνιος.

is the river called Porinas, and towards Aegeira the "road to Artemis."<sup>1</sup> Within the territory of the Pheneatians themselves, shortly after passing the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo you will be on the road that leads to Mount Crathis. On this mountain is the source of the river Ciathis, which flows into the sea by the side of Aegae, now a deserted spot, though in earlier days it was a city of the Achæans. After this Crathis is named the river in Bruttium in Italy. On Mount Crathis is a sanctuary of Artemis Pyronia (*Fire-goddess*), and in more ancient days the Argives used to bring from this goddess fire for their Lernaean ceremonies.

XVI. Going east from Pheneus you come to a mountain peak called Geronteium and a road by it. This mountain is the boundary between the territories of Pheneus and Stymphalus. On the left of it, as you travel through the land of Pheneus, are mountains of the Pheneatians called Tricrena (*Three Springs*), and here are three springs. In them, says the legend, Hermes was washed after birth by the nymphs of the mountain, and for this reason they are considered sacred to Hermes. Not far from Tricrena is another mountain called Sepia, where they say that Aepytus, the son of Elatus, was killed by the snake, and they also made his grave on the spot, for they could not carry the body away. These snakes are still to be found, the Arcadians say, on the mountain, even at the present day; not many, however, for they are very scarce. The reason is that, as for the greater part of the

<sup>1</sup> Or, adopting Kayser's emendation, "the river Aroanius."

τοῦ ὄρους, οἳ τε ἀποληφθέντες τῶν φωλεῶν ἐκτὸς  
 ὑπὸ τῆς χιονος διαφθείρονται, καὶ ἦν πρότερον  
 καταφυγόντες τύχωσιν ἐς τὰ φωλεά, ὅμως ἡ  
 χιὼν μέρος τι αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσιν, ἅτε καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ  
 3 τὰ φωλεὰ καθικνουμένου τοῦ κρυμοῦ. τὸν δὲ τοῦ  
 Αἰπύτου τάφον σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἐθεασάμην, ὅτι  
 ἐν τοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἔπεσιν ἔσχεν Ὀμηρος  
 λόγον τοῦ Αἰπύτου μνήματος. ἔστι μὲν οὖν γῆς  
 χῶμα οὐ μέγα, λίθου κρηπιδί ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχό-  
 μενον· Ὀμήρῳ δὲ—οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἀξιολογώτερον  
 μνῆμα—εἰκότως παρέξειν ἔμελλε θαῦμα, ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ Ἡφαίστου τὸν χορὸν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως  
 ἀσπίδι εἰργασμένον εἰκάζει χορῷ Δαιδάλου ποιη-  
 4 θέντι, σοφώτερα οὐ θεασάμενος. τάφους δὲ  
 ἀξιόους θαύματος ἐπιστάμενος πολλοὺς δυοῖν ἐξ  
 αὐτῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ  
 καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑβραίων. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν Ἀλικαρνασσῶ  
 Μανσώλῳ βασιλεύσαντι Ἀλικαρνασσέων πε-  
 ποίηται, μέγεθος δὲ οὕτω δὴ τί ἐστι μέγας καὶ ἐς  
 κατασκευὴν περίβλεπτος τὴν πᾶσαν, ὥστε καὶ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι μεγάλως δὴ τι αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ  
 παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπιφανῆ μνῆματα Μανσώλεια  
 5 ὀνομάζουσιν· Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς  
 ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν  
 ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς.  
 μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν, ὁμοίως  
 παντὶ οὖσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον  
 ἀνοίγεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε αἰεὶ καὶ ὥραν τὸ  
 ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ  
 μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχούσα  
 συνεκλείσθη δι' ἑαυτῆς. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω,  
 τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοῖξαι πειρώμενος ἀνοίξαις

year snow falls on the mountain, the snakes die that are cut off by the snow from their holes, while should any make good their escape to the holes, nevertheless some of them are killed by the snow, as the frost penetrates even into the very holes themselves. The grave of Aepytus I was especially anxious to see, because Homer<sup>1</sup> in his verses about the Arcadians makes mention of the tomb of Aepytus. It is a mound of earth of no great size, surrounded by a circular base of stone. Homer naturally was bound to admire it, as he had never seen a more noteworthy tomb, just as he compares the dance worked by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles to a dance made by Daedalus, because he had never seen more clever workmanship. I know many wonderful graves, and will mention two of them, the one at Halicarnassus and one in the land of the Hebrews. The one at Halicarnassus was made for Mausolus, king of the city, and it is of such vast size, and so notable for all its ornament, that the Romans in their great admiration of it call remarkable tombs in their country "Mausolea." The Hebrews have a grave, that of Helen, a native woman, in the city of Jerusalem, which the Roman Emperor razed to the ground. There is a contrivance in the grave whereby the door, which like all the grave is of stone, does not open until the year brings back the same day and the same hour. Then the mechanism, unaided, opens the door, which, after a short interval, shuts itself. This happens at that time, but should you at any other try to

<sup>1</sup> See *Iliad* ii. 592



μὲν οὐκ ἄν, κατάξεις δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος.

- XVII. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Αἰπύτου τὸν τάφον ὄρος τε ὑψηλότατον ὁρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ Κυλλήνῃ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ Κυλληνίου κατερριμμένος ναός ἐστιν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους· δῆλα δὲ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Κυλλήνῃς τοῦ Ἐλάτου τῷ τε ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἡ
- 2 ἐπὶ κλησις γεγεννημένη τῷ θεῷ. τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ὅποσα καὶ ἡμεῖς καταμαθεῖν ἐδυνήθημεν, τοσάδε ἦν ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ξόανα ἐποιοῦντο, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ κέδροι, τὰ δρύινα, ἡ μῖλαξ, ὁ λωτός· τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ τῷ Κυλληνίῳ τούτων μὲν ἀπὸ οὐδενός, θύου δὲ πεποιημένον τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, ὁκτὼ δὲ εἶναι ποδῶν μάλιστα
- 3 αὐτὸ εἰκάζομεν. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ θαῦμα τοιόνδε ἡ Κυλλήνη· κόσσυφοι γὰρ οἱ ὄρνιθες ὁλόλευκοί εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν καλούμενοι γένος ἄλλο πού τί εἰσιν ὀρνίθων, οὐκ ᾧδικόν. αἰετοὺς μὲν οὖν ὀνομαζομένους κυκνίας μάλιστα εἰκότας κύκνῳ λευκότητα οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ θεασάμενος περὶ λίμνην κάλουμένην Ταντάλου· ὅς δὲ ἀγρίους λευκοὺς καὶ ἄρκτους τῶν Θρακίων λευκὰς ἤδη πού καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκτήσαντο ἰδιῶται·
- 4 λαγῶ δὲ καὶ ἔλαφοι, τὸ μὲν Λιβυκὸν θρέμμα οἱ λαγῶ εἰσιν οἱ λευκοί, ἐλάφους δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ λευκὰς εἰδόν τε καὶ ἰδὼν θαῦμα ἐποιησάμην, ὁπόθεν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἡπείρων οὖσαι ἡ νησιώτιδες ἐκομίσθησαν, οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν ἐρέσθαι μοι. τάδε μὲν ἡμῖν λελέχθω τῶν ἐν Κυλλήνῃ κοσσύφων ἕνεκα, ὥς μὴ τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ἐς τὴν χροῖαν αὐτῶν
- 5 ἀπιστοίῃ μηδεῖς· ἔχεται δὲ ἄλλο ὄρος Κυλλήνης Χελυδόρεα, ἔνθα εὐρὼν χελώνην Ἑρμῆς ἐκδεῖραι

open the door you cannot do so, force will not open it, but only break it down.

XVII After the grave of Aepytus you come to the highest mountain in Arcadia, Cyllene, on the top of which is a dilapidated temple of Cyllenian Hermes. It is clear that Cyllen, the son of Elatus, gave the mountain its name and the god his surname. In days of old, men made wooden images, so far as I have been able to discover, from the following trees - ebony, cypress, cedar, oak, yew, lotus. But the image of Cyllenian Hermes is made of none of these, but of juniper wood. Its height, I conjecture, is about eight feet. Cyllene can show also the following marvel. On it the blackbirds are entirely white. The birds so called by the Boeotians are a somewhat different breed, which does not sing. Eagles called swan-eagles, very like to swans for whiteness, I am acquainted with, as I have seen them on Mount Sipylus round the lake called the Lake of Tantalus. White wild boars and Thracian white bears have been known to be acquired by private individuals. White hares are bred in Libya, and white deer I have seen in Rome to my great astonishment, though it never occurred to me to ask from what continent or island they had been brought. I have made these few remarks concerning the blackbirds in Cyllene that nobody may disbelieve what has been said about their colour. Adjoining Cyllene is another mountain, Chelydorea,<sup>1</sup> where Hermes is said to have found

<sup>1</sup> Chelydorea means "Mountain of the flayed tortoise"

τὸ θηρίον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέγεται ποιήσασθαι  
λύραν. ἐνταῦθα Φενεάταις καὶ Πελληνεῦσιν  
ὄροι τῆς γῆς εἰσι, καὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῶν Χελυδορέων  
οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸ πλεόν νέμονται.

- 6 Ἐκ Φενεοῦ δὲ ἰόντι ἐπὶ ἐσπέρας καὶ ἡλίου  
δυσμῶν ἡ μὲν ἀριστερὰ τῶν ὁδῶν ἐς πόλιν  
ἄγει Κλείτορα, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ Νώνακριν καὶ τὸ  
ὔδωρ τῆς Στυγός. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀρχαῖον ἡ Νώνακρις  
πόλισμα ἦν Ἀρκάδων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυκάονος  
γυναικὸς τὸ ὄνομα εἰλήφει· τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν  
ἐρείπια ἦν, οὐδὲ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ ἔτι δῆλα.  
τῶν δὲ ἐρειπίων οὐ πόρρω κρημνός ἐστιν ὑψηλός,  
οὐχ ἕτερον δ' ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀνήκοντα ὕψους οἶδα·  
καὶ ὔδωρ κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ στάζει, καλοῦσι δὲ  
Ἕλληνες αὐτὸ ὔδωρ Στυγός.

- XVIII. εἶναι δὲ τὴν Στύγα Ἡσιόδος μὲν ἐν  
Θεογονίᾳ πεποίηκεν—Ἡσιόδου γὰρ δὴ ἔπη τὴν  
Θεογονίαν εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζουσι—, πεποιημένα οὖν  
ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Στύγα,  
γυναιῖκα δὲ αὐτὴν εἶναι Πάλλαντος. εἰκότα δὲ  
πεποιηκέναι τούτοις καὶ Δίον φασίν· ἐμοὶ δὲ  
ἐπιλεγομένῳ παντάπασιν ἐφαίνετο ταῦτά γε  
2 εἶναι κίβδηλα. Ἐπιμενίδης δὲ ὁ Κρῆς εἶναι μὲν  
καὶ οὗτος θυγατέρα Ὠκεανοῦ τὴν Στύγα ἐποίησε,  
συνοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ Πάλλαντι, ἀλλὰ ἐκ  
Πείραντος Ἐχιδναυ τεκεῖν, ὅστις δὴ ὁ Πείρας  
ἐστί. μάλιστα δὲ τῆς Στυγός τὸ ὄνομα ἐς τὴν  
ποίησιν ἐπεισηγάγετο Ὀμηρος ἐν μὲν γε Ἡρας  
ἐποίησεν ὄρκῳ

ἴστω νῦν τόδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεῖν  
καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὔδωρ·

a tortoise, taken the shell from the beast, and to have made therefrom a harp. Here is the boundary between Pheneus and Pellene, and the greater part of Mount Chelydorea is inhabited by the Achaeans.

As you go from Pheneus to the west, the left road leads to the city Cleitor, while on the right is the road to Nonacris and the water of the Styx. Of old Nonacris<sup>1</sup> was a town of the Arcadians that was named after the wife of Lycaon. When I visited it, it was in ruins, and most of these were hidden. Not far from the ruins is a high cliff; I know of none other that rises to so great a height. A water trickles down the cliff, called by the Greeks the water of the Styx.

XVIII Hesiod in the *Theogony*<sup>1</sup>—for there are some who assign this hexameter poem to Hesiod—speaks of Styx as the daughter of Ocean and the wife of Pallas. Men say that Linus too gives a like account in his verses, though when I read these they struck me as altogether spurious. Epimenides of Crete, also, represented Styx as the daughter of Ocean, not, however, as the wife of Pallas, but as bearing Echidna to Peiras, whoever Peiras may be. But it is Homer who introduces most frequently the name of Styx into his poetry. In the oath of Heia<sup>2</sup> he says:—

Witness now to this be Earth, and broad Heaven  
above,  
And the water of Styx down-flowing.

<sup>1</sup> See l. 383. Compare also ll. 776, 785 foll., 805, 806.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xv 36, 37.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐποίησεν ὥς ἂν ἰδὼν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ  
 τῆς Στυγὸς στάζον· βούλεται δὲ καὶ ἐν κατα-  
 λόγῳ τῶν μετὰ Γουνέως Τιταρησίῳ ποταμῷ ρεῖν  
 3 τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς Στυγός. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ἐν  
 "Αἰδου ὕδωρ εἶναι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ τὸν Δία οὐ μεμνήσ-  
 θαι φησιν ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς Ἡρακλέα ἔσωζεν ἐκ τῶν  
 Εὐρυσθέως ἄθλων·

εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε ἤδη ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πνευκαλίμησιν,  
 εὐτέ μιν εἰς Ἀίδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν  
 ἐξ Ἑρέβους ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἀίδαο,  
 οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα.

4 τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν  
 Νώνακριν στάζον ἐσπίπτει μὲν πρῶτον ἐς πέτραν  
 ὑψηλήν, διεξελθὼν δὲ διὰ τῆς πέτρας ἐς τὸν  
 Κρᾶθιν ποταμὸν κάτεισι· θάνατον δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ  
 φέρει τοῦτο καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ζῳῷ παντί.  
 λέγεται δὲ ὅτι γένοιτό ποτε ὄλεθρος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 καὶ αἰξίν, αἱ τοῦ ὕδατος ἔπιον πρῶτον· χρόνῳ  
 δὲ ὕστερον ἐγνώσθη καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο πρόσεστι  
 5 τῷ ὕδατι τῶν ἐς θαῦμα ἡκόντων. ὕαλος μὲν γε  
 καὶ κρύσταλλος καὶ μόρρια καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 ἀνθρώποις ἄλλα λίθου ποιούμενα καὶ τῶν σκευῶν  
 τὰ κεραμεᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Στυγὸς τοῦ ὕδατος  
 ῥήγνυται· κεράτινα δὲ καὶ ὀστέινα σίδηρός τε  
 καὶ χαλκός, ἔτι δὲ μόλιβδός τε καὶ κασσίτερος  
 καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ τὸ ἡλεκτρον ὑπὸ τούτου σήπεται  
 τοῦ ὕδατος. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ  
 ὁ χρυσὸς πέπονθε· καίτοι καθαρεύειν γε τὸν  
 χρυσὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ ἢ τε ποιήτρια μάρτυς ἐστὶν ἡ  
 Λεσβία καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐπιδείκνυσιν.  
 6 ἔδωκε δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τοῖς μάλιστα ἀπερριμμένοις

These verses suggest that the poet had seen the water of the Styx trickling down. Again in the list of those who came with Guneus<sup>1</sup> he makes the river Titaresius receive its water from the Styx. He also represents the Styx as a river in Hades, and Athena says that Zeus does not remember that because of her he kept Heracles safe throughout the labours imposed by Eurystheus.

For if I had known this in my shrewd heart  
 When he sent him to Hades the gate-keeper,  
 To fetch out of Erebus the hound of hateful  
 Hades,  
 He would never have escaped the sheer streams  
 of the river Styx.

The water trickling down the cliff by the side of Nonacius falls first to a high rock, through which it passes and then descends into the river Crathis. Its water brings death to all, man and beast alike. It is said too that it once brought death even upon goats, which drank of the water first; later on all the wonderful properties of the water were learnt. For glass, crystal, murrhine vessels, other articles men make of stone, and pottery, are all broken by the water of the Styx, while things of horn or of bone, with iron, bronze, lead, tin, silver and electrum, are all corroded by this water. Gold too suffers just like all the other metals, and yet gold is immune to rust, as the Lesbian poetess bears witness and is shown by the metal itself. So heaven has assigned to the most lowly things the mastery over things far

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, II. 751.

κρατεῖν τῶν ὑπερηρκότων τῇ δόξῃ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὰ μάργαρα ἀπόλλυσθαι πέφυκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄξους, τοῦτο δὲ τὸν ἀδάμαντα λίθων ὄντα ἰσχυρότατον τοῦ τράγου κατατῆκει τὸ αἷμα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ οὐ δύναται τῆς Στυγὸς ὀπλήν ἵππου βιάσασθαι μόνην, ἀλλὰ ἐμβληθὲν κατ-έχεται τε ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ οὐ διεργάζεται τὴν ὀπλήν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φιλίππου συνέβη τὴν τελευτὴν διὰ τοῦ φαρμάκου γενέσθαι τούτου, σαφῶς μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, λεγόμενον δὲ οἶδα

- 7 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν Νώνακριν ὄρη τε καλούμενα Ἀροάνια καὶ σπήλαιόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς. ἐς τοῦτο ἀναφυγεῖν τὸ σπήλαιον τὰς θυγατέρας τὰς Προΐτου μανείσας λέγουσιν, ἃς ὁ Μελάμπους θυσίαις τε ἀπορρήτοις καὶ καθαρμοῖς κατήγαγεν ἐς χωρίον καλούμενον Λουσούς. τοῦ μὲν δὴ ὄρους τῶν Ἀροανίων Φενεᾶται τὰ πολλὰ ἐνέ-μουντο· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄροις ἤδη Κλειτορίων εἰσὶν οἱ
- 8 Λουσοί. πόλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσούς, καὶ Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ Λουσεὺς ἀνηγο-ρεύθη κέλῃτι ἵππῳ νικῶν, ὅτε πρῶτην ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα ἐτίθεσαν πυθιάδα Ἀμφικτύονες· τὰ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ ἐρείπια ἔτι λειπόμενα ἦν Λουσῶν. τὰς δ' οὖν θυγατέρας τοῦ Προΐτου κατήγαγεν ὁ Μελάμπους ἐς τοὺς Λουσούς καὶ ἠκέσατο τῆς μανίας ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ· καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὴν Ἀρτεμιν ταύτην Ἡμερασίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Κλει-τόριοι.

XIX. Εἰσὶ δέ τινες γένους μὲν καὶ οὗτοι τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν, ὄνομα δὲ σφισι Κυναιθαεῖς, οἳ καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Διός, κεραυνὸν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ ἔχοντα τῇ χειρί· οὗτοι

more esteemed than they. For pearls are dissolved by vinegar, while diamonds, the hardest of stones, are melted by the blood of the he-goat. The only thing that can resist the water of the Styx is a horse's hoof. When poured into it the water is retained, and does not break up the hoof. Whether Alexander, the son of Philip, met his end by this poison I do not know for certain, but I do know that there is a story to this effect

Above Nonacrus are the Aioanian Mountains, in which is a cave. To this cave, legend says, the daughters of Proetus fled when struck with madness; Melampus by secret sacrifices and purifications brought them down to a place called Lusi. Most of the Aroanian mountain belongs to Pheneus, but Lusi is on the borders of Cleitor. They say that Lusi was once a city, and Agesilas was proclaimed as a man of Lusi when victor in the horse-race at the eleventh Pythian festival held by <sup>546 B C.</sup> the Amphictyons, but when I was there not even ruins of Lusi remained. Well, the daughters of Proetus were brought down by Melampus to Lusi, and healed of their madness in a sanctuary of Artemis. Wherefore<sup>1</sup> this Artemis is called Heme-rasia (*She who soothes*) by the Cleitorians

XIX There is a clan of the Arcadians, called the Cynaetheans, the same folk who dedicated the image of Zeus at Olympia with a thunderbolt in either

<sup>1</sup> Or, "Since that time"



- οἱ Κυναιθαεῖς τεσσαράκοντα ἀπωτέρω . . . . 1  
 σταδίοις μᾶλλον<sup>2</sup> οἰκοῦσι, καί σφισιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
 πεποίηται μὲν θεῶν βωμοί, πεποίηται δέ  
 2 Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόν. τὰ δὲ μάλιστα  
 ἦκοντα ἐς μνήμην Διονύσου ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα  
 ἱερόν, καὶ ἐορτὴν ὥρα ἄγουσι χειμῶνος, ἐν  
 ᾗ λίπα ἀλληλιμμένοι ἄνδρες ἐξ ἀγέλης βοῶν  
 ταῦρον, ὃν ἂν σφισιν ἐπὶ νοῦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς  
 ποιήσῃ, ἀράμενοι κομίζουσι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.  
 θυσία μὲν τοιαύτη σφίσι καθέστηκε· πηγὴ δέ  
 ἐστὶν αὐτόθι ὕδατος ψυχροῦ, δύο μάλιστα ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ἄστεως ἀπωτέρω σταδίοις, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς  
 3 πλάτανος πεφυκυῖα. ὃς δ' ἂν ὑπὸ κυνὸς κατ-  
 ασχέτου λύσῃ ἦτοι ἔλκος ἢ καὶ ἄλλως κίνδυ-  
 νον εὖρηται, τὸ ὕδωρ οἱ πίνουντι ἴαμα· καὶ  
 Ἄλυσσον τοῦδε ἔνεκα ὀνομάζουσι τὴν πηγὴν·  
 καὶ οὕτω φαίνοιτο ἂν Ἀρκάσι τὸ μὲν πρὸς  
 Φενεῶ ὕδωρ, ὃ Στύγα ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου  
 συμφορᾷ ἀνευρημένον, ἢ δὲ πηγὴ ἢ ἐν Κυ-  
 ναιθαεῦσιν ἀγαθὸν οὔσα ἀντίρροπον τῷ ἐκεῖ  
 πῆματι.
- 4 Λείπεται δὲ ἐκ Φενεοῦ τῶν ὁδῶν, αἵ εἰσι πρὸς  
 ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἢ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ὁδὸς  
 ἄγει μὲν ἐς Κλείτορα, καθήκει δὲ παρὰ τοῦ  
 Ἡρακλέους τὸ ἔργον, ὃ τῷ ποταμῷ ρεῦμα ἐποίη-  
 σεν εἶναι τῷ Ἀροανίῳ. παρὰ τοῦτο ἡ ὁδὸς  
 κάτεισιν ἐπὶ χωρίον Λυκουρίαν, καὶ ἐστι Φενεά-  
 ταις ἢ Λυκουρία πρὸς Κλειτορίους ὅροι τῆς γῆς.
- XX Προελθόντων δὲ σταδίους ὡς πεντήκοντα  
 ἐκ Λυκουρίας, ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδωνος ἀφίξῃ τὰς πηγὰς  
 ἦκουσα δὲ ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ<sup>3</sup> λιμνάζον ἐν τῇ Φενεατικῇ,  
 κατερχόμενον ἐς τὰ βάραθρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν,

hand These Cynaetheans live more than forty stades from . . . . and in their market-place have been made altars of the gods and a statue of the Emperor Hadrian. The most notable things here include a sanctuary of Dionysus, to whom they hold a feast in the winter, at which men smeared with grease take up from a herd of cattle a bull, whichever one the god suggest to them, and carry it to the sanctuary. This is the manner of their sacrifice. Here there is a spring of cold water, about two stades away from the city, and above it grows a plane-tree. If a rabid dog turn a man mad, or wound or otherwise endanger him, to drink this water is a cure. For this reason they call the spring Alyssus (*Curer of madness*). So it would appear that the Arcadians have in the water near Pheneus, called the Styx, a thing made to be a mischief to man, while the spring among the Cynaetheans is a boon to make up for the bane in the other place.

One of the roads from Pheneus, which go westward, remains, the one on the left. This road leads to Cleitor, and extends by the side of the work of Heracles, which made a course for the river Aroanius. By it the road goes down to a place called Lycuria, which is the boundary between Pheneus and Cleitor.

XX. Advancing about fifty stades from Lycuria, you will come to the source of the Ladon. I heard that the water making a lake in the territory of Pheneus, descending into the chasms in the moun-

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<sup>1</sup> Spiro fills the gap with Λουσῶν

<sup>2</sup> μάλιστα has been suggested for μάλλον

<sup>3</sup> Schubart would add here τὸ.

ἀνεισιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ποιεῖ τῷ Λάδωνι τὰς πηγὰς.  
 τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἔχω σαφῶς εἰπεῖν, εἴτε οὕτως  
 εἴτε ἄλλως ἐστὶν ἔχον· ὁ δὲ Λάδων ποταμῶν τῶν  
 ἐν Ἑλλάδι ὕδωρ παρέχεται κάλλιστον, ἔχει δὲ  
 καὶ ἄλλως ἐς ἀνθρώπους φήμην Δάφνης τε εἵνεκα  
 2 καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰ ᾄδόμενα ἐς τὴν Δάφνην τοῦ λόγου δὲ τοῦ  
 ἐς Δάφνην τὰ μὲν Σύροις τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ Ὀρόντη  
 ποταμῷ παρίημι, λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τοιάδε  
 ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων. Οἰνομάῳ τῷ δυνασ-  
 τεύσαντι ἐν Πίσῃ Λεύκιππος ἦν υἱός. οὗτος  
 ἐρασθεὶς Δάφνης ὁ Λεύκιππος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ εὐθέος  
 μνώμενος γυναῖκα ἔξειν ἀπεγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἅτε  
 ἅπαν τὸ ἄρσεν γένος φεύγουσαν· παρέστη δέ  
 3 οἱ τοιόνδε ἐς αὐτὴν σόφισμα ἔτρεφεν ὁ Λεύκ-  
 ιππος κόμην τῷ Ἀλφειῷ· ταύτην οἶα δὴ παρ-  
 θένος πλεξάμενος τὴν κόμην καὶ ἐσθῆτα ἐνδὺς  
 γυναικείαν ἀφίκετο ὥς τὴν Δάφνην, ἐλθὼν δὲ  
 Οἰνομάου τε ἔλεγεν εἶναι θυγάτηρ καὶ ὥς  
 συνθηρᾶν ἐθέλοι τῇ Δάφνῃ. ἅτε δὲ εἶναι παρ-  
 θένος νομιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὑπερβεβλη-  
 μένος παρθένους γένους τε ἀξιώματι καὶ σοφίᾳ  
 τῇ ἐς τὰ κυνηγέσια, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῇ θεραπείᾳ  
 περισσῇ χρώμενος, ἐς φιλίαν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται  
 4 τὴν Δάφνην. οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἔρωτα ἐς  
 αὐτὴν ᾄδοντες καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα  
 Λευκίππῳ νεμεσῆσαι τῆς ἐς τὸν ἔρωτα εὐδαι-  
 μονίας. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεθύμησεν ἐν τῷ Λάδωνι ἢ  
 Δάφνῃ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ παρθένοι νήχεσθαι, καὶ τὸν  
 Λεύκιππον ἀποδύουσιν ἄκοντα· ἰδοῦσαι δὲ οὐ  
 παρθένον τοῖς τε ἄκοντίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγχειριδίοις  
 τύπτουσαι διέφθειραν.

XXI. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσι· τοῦ Λάδωνος

tains, rises here and forms the source of the Ladon, but I cannot say for certain whether this is true or not. The Ladon is the most lovely river in Greece, and is also famous for the legend of Daphne that the poets tell. I pass over the story current among the Syrians who live on the river Orontes, and give the account of the Arcadians and Eleans. Oenomaus, prince of Pisa, had a son Leucippus. Leucippus fell in love with Daphne, but despaired of winning her to be his wife by an open courtship, as she avoided all the male sex. The following trick occurred to him by which to get her. Leucippus was growing his hair long for the river Alpheus. Braiding his hair as though he were a maiden, and putting on woman's clothes, he came to Daphne and said that he was a daughter of Oenomaus, and would like to share her hunting. As he was thought to be a maiden, surpassed the other maidens in nobility of birth and skill in hunting, and was besides most assiduous in his attentions, he drew Daphne into a deep friendship. The poets who sing of Apollo's love for Daphne make an addition to the tale; that Apollo became jealous of Leucippus because of his success in his love. Forthwith Daphne and the other maidens conceived a longing to swim in the Ladon, and stripped Leucippus in spite of his reluctance. Then, seeing that he was no maid, they killed him with their javelins and daggers.

XXI Such is the tale. From the source of the

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<sup>1</sup> The text here is corrupt.

- δὲ τῶν πηγῶν ἀπέχει στάδια ἑξήκοντα ἡ Κλειτορίων πόλις, ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν τοῦ Λάδωνός ἐστιν αὐλῶν στενὸς παρὰ τὸν Ἀροάνιον ποταμόν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει διαβήσῃ ποταμὸν καλούμενον Κλείτορα. ἐκδίδωσιν οὖν ὁ Κλείτωρ ἐς τὸν Ἀροάνιον, οὐ πλέον τῆς πόλεως σταδίου
- 2 ἀπέχοντα ἐπτά. εἰσὶ δὲ ἰχθύς ἐν τῷ Ἀροανίῳ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ ποικιλίαι καλούμενοι· τούτους λέγουσι τοὺς ποικιλίας φθέγγεσθαι κίχλη τῇ ὄρνιθι ἑοικός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγρευθέντας μὲν εἶδον, φθειγγομένων δὲ ἤκουσα οὐδὲν καταμείνας πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐς ἡλίου δυσμάς, ὅτε δὴ φθέγγεσθαι μάλιστα ἐλέγοντο οἱ ἰχθύς.
- 3 Τῇ δὲ Κλειτορίων πόλει τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτέθη τοῦ Ἀζᾶνος, οἰκεῖται δ' ἐν ὁμαλῷ, κύκλῳ δὲ ὄρη περιέχοντά ἐστιν οὐ μέγала. Κλειτορίοις δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δήμητρος τό τε Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τρίτον δὲ ἐστιν Εἰλειθυίας \* \* \* εἶναι, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· Λύκιος δὲ Ὀλὴν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν, Δηλίοις ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλους ποιήσας καὶ ἐς Εἰλείθυιαν, εὐλινόν τε αὐτὴν ἀνακαλεῖ—δῆλον ὡς τῇ πεπρωμένῃ τὴν αὐτὴν—καὶ Κρόνου
- 4 πρεσβυτέραν φησὶν εἶναι. Κλειτορίοις δὲ καὶ Διοσκούρων, καλουμένων δὲ θεῶν Μεγάλων ἐστὶν ἱερὸν ὅσον τέσσαρα ἀπέχον στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς χαλκᾶ. πεποιήται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ὄρους λορυφῆς σταδίοις τριάκοντα ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς Κορίας.

Ladon, Cleitor is sixty stades away, and the road from the source of the Ladon is a narrow gorge alongside the river Aroanius. Near the city you will cross the river called the Cleitor. The Cleitor flows into the Aroanius, at a point not more than seven stades from the city. Among the fish in the Aroanius is one called the dappled fish. These dappled fish, it is said, utter a cry like that of the thrush. I have seen fish that have been caught, but I never heard them cry, though I waited by the river even until sunset, at which time the fish were said to cry most.

Cleitor got its name from the son of Azan, and is situated on a level spot surrounded by low hills. The most celebrated sanctuaries of the Cleitorians are those of Demeter, Asclepius and, thirdly, Eleithia. . . to be, and gave no number for them. The Lycian Olen, an earlier poet, who composed for the Delians, among other hymns, one to Eleithia, styles her "the clever spinner," clearly identifying her with fate, and makes her older than Cronus. Cleitor has also, at a distance of about four stades from the city, a sanctuary of the Dioscuri, under the name of the Great Gods. There are also images of them in bronze. There is also built upon a mountain-top, thirty stades away from the city, a temple of Athena Coria with an image of the goddess.

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